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ABSTRACT

Some of the assumptions on which earlier models and approaches in educational planning were predicated have turned out to be over-simplistic, limited, or altogether not appropriate for the complex nature of the development process in many developed and, especially, underdeveloped societies. Recognizing these problems, the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) brought together a number of researchers, policy-makers, and planners from all parts of the world for a week of reflection and discussion on the past, present, and future of educational planning. This volume is a synthesis of the main results of this international forum, and it attempts to delineate the tasks for educational planning in the coming years. Chapters contain the texts of five background papers, with comments by IIEP staff members; the edited versions of the reports of the three working groups; and a synthesis of the seminar discussions divided into five broad topics that reflect the convergence of discussion. The last chapter reviews some of the observations made at the seminar on research and training needs in educational planning. A paper, "Schooling and Future Society" by Johan Galtung, is included as an appendix. Seminar participants are listed. (Author/MLF)

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Edited by Hans N. Weiler

Educational planning and social change

Report on an IIEP Seminar

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Preface

After some twenty years of being looked upon with general favour throughout the world, educational planning is now being exposed to a radical change in the "way the wind is blowing". It had been claimed that planning was the main instrument for managing educational policies—and even more, a factor of educational development; it has now become the fashion to be sceptical about any attempt to rationalize the operation and development of educational systems, to the extent that one observer of the mood of scholars and educational policy-makers did not hesitate recently to qualify planning as an "exercise in optimism".

The reasons for this change are numerous indeed. They are to be found partly in the contextual evolution of many countries since the end of the Second World War; they relate partly to the progress made in the methodologies of planning, which started with simple parameters and techniques of linear extrapolation of enrolment trends and developed into highly sophisticated multidisciplinary exercises, including a variety of aspects such as political science, geography, psychology, sociology, economy and history, to name but a few. But perhaps the most important reason for this change stems from the over-expectations which were placed on planning in the early days, and the over-simplified vision of the relationship between education and other institutions of the social system.

After fifteen years' existence the International Institute for Educational Planning obviously could not ignore the challenge facing planners and policy-makers at the end of the 1970s. Both its research programme and its training activities have reflected the historical evolution of educational planning concepts and methods in the various countries; it is the function of the IIEP to take stock of the changes occurring in the aims, scope and methods of planning on the international scene, and to facilitate the dialogue between the "producers" and the "users" of educational plans, with the hope of identifying some convergent points of reference, if not of reaching some consensus.

With these purposes in mind, the Institute organized in 1977 an international workshop with a rather ambitious objective: the agenda called for reflection on the past, present and future of educational planning. This meeting was attended by researchers, planners and policy-makers from a wide variety of ideological, political and social settings. After a critical view of the assumptions upon which educational planning has been based, and of the range of experiences in different settings, the participants identified the major challenges with which we are faced today and the new tasks ahead for educational planners.

Hans Weiler, then Director of the IIEP, who was the organizer of this workshop, subsequently assumed the task of editing the various contributions made at the meeting, and attempting to capture some of the significant points of the discussions. This volume is thus a synthesis of the main results of this international forum; it delineates the new task for educational planning for the coming years. The author identifies the complexity and difficulty of the task, but he also points out directions which should be the most fruitful for further exploration. Accordingly, while not necessarily adhering to everything which was proposed (which, as one would expect, reflects conflicting views on the topic), the Institute, engaged in the process of evaluating its own contribution to educational planning and preparing its programme of activities for its new Medium-Term Plan, has made use of some of the inspiring ideas contained in this report.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the financial support given to the organization of this meeting by the Federal Republic of Germany and by Norway.

Michel Debeauvais
Director, IIEP

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I. Introduction

Educational planning is passing through a period of doubt. Some of the assumptions on which earlier models and approaches in educational planning were predicated have turned out to be over-simplistic, limited, or altogether not appropriate for the complex nature of the development process in many developed and especially underdeveloped societies. Shifts in policy priorities have set a new agenda for planning the development and reform of education, and conventional structures and processes of planning have difficulties adjusting to and coping with new challenges. As a result of experience and systematic research, we now have a better and more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of the relationship between education and social change, even though many aspects of that relationship remain puzzling and in need of further inquiry. Many countries have seen a conspicuous and alarming history of failures in the design and, particularly, the implementation of educational plans, and there has been a lack of adequate explanations of exactly what went wrong.

At the same time, planners, administrators, and policy-makers in education continue to face the task of providing, in a reasonably transparent and systematic way, for the future of their educational systems under conditions of finite resources, pressing and sometimes conflicting political directives, and a complex set of inter-relationships with the outside world. The present state of uncertainty over whether or not educational planning as we used to know it provides an adequate instrument for coping with these problems effectively does not make their tasks any easier, nor does it give dependable guidance to those institutions which, at the national or international level, are responsible for training future generations of leaders and specialists in planning the development and reform of education.

The seminar at Arc-et-Senans

Recognizing these problems from its own research and training experience, the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) decided to bring together a number of distinguished researchers, policy-makers and planners from all parts of the world for a week of reflection and discussion. The seminar was expected to review critically the assumptions upon which educational planning had been based, to identify the major challenges it faces today, and to begin mapping out the possible future tasks in planning the development and reform of education.

The seminar met from 19 to 24 June 1977 at Arc-et-Senans in the Franche-Comté (France). The setting—the "Centre for the Future" which has been constructed within the old *Salines Royales*—was unique and inspiring: built between 1775 and 1779 by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux as part of a visionary plan for a "modern city" that was to accommodate both the human needs and the functional requirements of a coming industrial era in a coherent structure, the *Salines Royales* continue to impress the visitor and guest as a monument to planning imaginatively for a challenging future.

The participants in the seminar represented a wide range of different experiences and of different ideological and political persuasions.[1] Their willingness to interact openly and to bring the richness of their diverse backgrounds to bear on the seminar's deliberations was one of the great assets of the meeting.

Several participants had been asked to prepare background papers for the benefit of the seminar discussions; these papers, which are reproduced in full in the second chapter of this volume, formed the framework for the initial plenary discussions of the seminar.[2] The main tenor of the papers was to question, from different vantage points, some of the conventional notions of educational planning, the assumptions on which they were based and their practical utility in the context of the relationship between education and social change. For each paper, one of the participating staff members of the IIEP had prepared a set of initial comments in writing which served to launch the discussion of that paper. The main points made in these comments have been incorporated into the synthesis of the discussions in Chapter IV, and the comments themselves follow the respective background papers in Chapter II.

The discussions of the first part of the seminar were continued more intensively in three working groups, the terms of reference of which had emerged from the preceding plenary discussion. Respectively, the three groups dealt with:

— Processes: Policy, planning, implementation (Group I);
— Educational planning and social change (Group II);
— Planners, public, politicians (Group III).

In each working group, special attention was given to the implications of that group's topic for research, training, and administrative organization in educational planning. The seminar concluded with another round of plenary discussions which was based on the reports of the three working groups.

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[1] The list of seminar participants is on pp. 209-11.

[2] A paper on "Schooling and future society" was contributed as background material for the seminar by Johan Galtung, who was unable to participate in the meeting himself. The paper is reproduced as an Appendix.

The organization of this volume

The diversity, originality and richness of the contributions to this seminar defy ready summary and pose considerable problems in trying to present a coherent account of the seminar's proceedings while at the same time conveying a sense of the intellectual vitality and freshness of the discussions. This volume represents an effort to be both faithful to the seminar and the contributions of its participants and reasonably systematic in presenting the many ideas and suggestions on the future of educational planning that merit and require further attention in research, policy, training and administrative practice. The reconciliation of these two goals has been only imperfectly achieved, but it is hoped that those who participated in the seminar will recognize the impact of their ideas and experiences, and that those who did not will be able to share the insights which the discussions at the seminar generated.

The following chapter (Chapter II) consists of the texts of the five background papers which were prepared in advance of the seminar and of the comments by IIEP staff members. They have undergone minor editing by the authors and/or the editor.

Chapter III contains the edited versions of the reports of the three working groups. The editing has taken into account the written outline of each report, the transcript of the oral presentation by the *rapporteurs*, the additional comments by the chairmen and other members of the working groups, and the notes of the editor.

To convey a sense of the plenary discussions of the seminar is the special task and burden of Chapters IV and V. After considering a number of different possibilities, it was decided to structure this presentation by the major themes which, in different contexts, kept recurring in the discussions. Actually, the presentation of each of the background papers was followed by an extended period of discussion. While the tenor of each of these discussion periods reflected the special focus of the paper which preceded it, there emerged a pervading commonality of concerns which were expressed, albeit in different form, in most of the discussion periods, and which came up again after the three working groups had presented their reports.

Any attempt to structure that kind of a multi-faceted discussion is bound to impose a somewhat artificial grid on a much more natural process of interaction. The five themes that have been chosen to serve as points of crystallization for Chapter IV are thus by no means mutually exclusive or neatly distinguishable from one another; they do, however, serve to describe the centres of gravity towards which the discussion tended to converge:

1. Education and social change: implications for planning;
2. The changing concept of educational planning;
3. Planning and the identification of needs;
4. Information and implementation: underdeveloped areas of educational planning;
5. The international context of educational planning.

Chapter V is of a somewhat different nature, although it, too, is primarily based on the seminar's plenary discussion. In organizing the seminar, it had been the Institute's hope that, in addition to and as a result of a more fundamental review of educational planning, the seminar would yield insights into future training and research needs which could guide the Institute's own work and that of other, similar programmes at the international and national level. Weiler's paper (see Chapter II) had attempted, in anticipation of this task, to formulate some elements for further discussion on training and research. Both the plenary discussions and the working groups, which had been specifically encouraged to think in terms of such guidance, did shed a great deal of light on what future agendas in training and research might look like. Chapter V provides a summary of these ideas in drawing both on the plenary discussions and on those parts of the working group reports which were addressed specifically to questions of research and training.

The preparation of Chapters IV and V is based on a full, verbatim transcript of the seminar's plenary sessions as well as on the editor's own notes taken during the seminar. While no editor of complex and controversial material can resist the temptation of seeing his own biases confirmed in the material he is editing, a serious effort has been made to present faithfully the wide range of views expressed at the seminar. The seminar, unlike more official international gatherings, was under no pressure to arrive at "conclusions" or "recommendations", even though it has a right to expect that its ideas be taken seriously. This openness has been one of the seminar's main assets, and no attempt has been made in this report to conceal the fact that, on a number of issues, there was a considerable range of opinion. At the same time, however, and in view of the potential controversiality of the topic, it was remarkable to note how much convergence of views there was regarding some of the major problems and challenges which educational planning faces.

After a good deal of thought, it has been decided not to attribute in this report specific contributions to individual participants in the seminar. If adopted, such attribution would have had to be complete, and would have made for a very cumbersome account. Since every participant was at the seminar in his or her personal capacity and was not expected to represent anything but his or her own views, experiences, and ideas, it seems permissible to treat, for the purposes of this report, the discussion as a collegial dialogue to which everybody contributed freely, candidly, and often passionately.

Towards the end of the seminar, and looking back at a week of such dialogue, the chairman felt justified to speak of the seminar's progress, in typical jargon, as a "cumulative acquisition of insights". At the time, that seemed like a warranted observation. It is hoped that this report conveys some sense of that progression.

II. Reviewing the concept and practice of educational planning: the working papers

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The limits of educational planning

Henry M. Levin

I. Introduction[1]

The process of educational planning is necessarily an exercise in optimism. It is predicated on the belief that the techniques of applied science can triumph over the implicitly "irrational" factors that have characterized the flow of history. It is also remarkably apolitical in that its straightforward prognostications and remedies are posited as universal solutions, as if political issues have finally yielded to technical wisdom. For it is assumed that social change can be planned and managed by the formation of purposive institutions that will be guided by appropriately trained professionals with commitments to a common vision of the future society. Within this context the planning activity is instrumental in designing the relevant institutions; projecting their funding needs; selecting and training their personnel; and evaluating their institutional performances in meeting the objectives set out for them. In this context, the initial formation of schools followed later by cycles of educational planning and reform represent the optimistic response to such deeply-rooted social issues as poverty, prejudice, and political oppression.

But while institutional optimism may be an admirable quality, it tends to mask a dispassionate examination of reality. For example, concerted efforts to use the educational system to eliminate poverty or reduce inequalities in income have shown little evidence of success (Carnoy and Levin, 1976). Nor is there any support for the view that the schools can serve as a powerful force to eliminate prejudice and oppression. In fact, a review of the historical development of schooling in many societies suggests a role which consistently contradicts the lofty perspective of schooling that tends to dominate the thinking of educational planners. This evidence suggests that the establishment of national systems of mass schooling was largely a response to the need by capitalists to develop a docile and socialized work force for the alienating work arrangements of the emerging factory system (Bowles and Gintis, 1976), as well as to the need by colonial powers to develop economically, culturally, and politically subjugated colonies that would be oriented towards the needs of the dominant societies (Carnoy, 1974b).

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[1] This section and the following one draw heavily on my paper "Qualitative planning: a broad view" (1978).

In the past the practice of educational planning has been mainly a quantitative exercise. On the basis of the assumption that quantitative expansion of the schooling system is necessary for national integration, as well as for economic, political, and social development, the planners have attended to such functions as specifying the optimal locations for school plants, the projected and desirable enrolments at the various levels and among the various types of schooling, projected teacher needs for the schools, alternative educational technologies and their consequences in providing for enrolment expansion, and an analysis of costs and funding requirements for educational expansion. But recent years have witnessed surpluses of educated persons relative to job opportunities and a lack of success in eliminating such problems as poverty, in spite of vast increases in the educational attainments of populations (International Labour Organisation, 1976; Carnoy and Levin, 1976). Accordingly, there has been a shift from the emphasis on quantitative educational planning to a focus on educational reform and "qualitative" educational planning and change. In particular, it is argued that a salient impact of education on equalizing life chances requires such reforms as compensatory educational resources for the poor (Hunt, 1969); racial and socio-economic integration of the schools (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975); curriculum change in the direction of mastery-learning or other approaches that emphasize more nearly equal skill development among the young (Block, 1971); and recurrent or lifelong education to permit the young and adults to enter and leave the educational system as their personal and career development require (Faure *et al.*, 1972; Emmerij, 1974).

In this paper I will argue that the implicit assumptions underlying the educational planning exercise are in conflict with the actual social reality that we face, and that there are serious limits to our ability to change society through educational planning and reform. In fact, I will conclude with the following generalization: when educational planning and reform is directed towards altering characteristics of a society that derive from the basic political, economic, and social functioning and structure of that society, the educational reforms and plans will fail to achieve their stated objective. More specifically, the limits of educational planning are the boundaries placed upon change by the normal functioning of its major institutions. In the following sections I will attempt to present a comprehensive view of the educational setting and sector, and I will explore its implications for educational reform and planning. Next, I will apply this framework to a particular case study of educational planning and reform. Third, I will elaborate on the limits of educational planning more generally by differentiating between where it is likely to succeed and where it is likely to fail. Finally, I will propose a different view of social change and elaborate on its implications.

II. Educational planning and the educational sector

In order to understand the purported role of educational planning, it is necessary to understand the functioning of the educational sector. Accordingly, we will present a brief description of the educational sector and the nature of its setting in this section, and we will explore how educational reform and planning might be introduced to alter the operations of the educational system. Figure 1 represents a schematic description of the educational sector. Various versions of this basic description have been used to examine the issues of educational accountability (Levin, 1974); the effects of increasing educational expenditures (Carnoy and Levin, 1976: Chap. 6) and the limits of educational reform (Carnoy and Levin, 1976: Chap. 1 and 2). The purpose of this type of flow chart of activities reflected by the educational sector is to show the relations among the various entities that define both the setting and the operation of a national educational system.

The lower set of boxes describe various aspects of the national educational sector, while the upper two boxes represent two types of forces for altering the operations of that system. Let us review the characteristics and activities of the educational sector first. It is important to begin with the recognition that the educational sector cannot be considered in isolation from the society that sponsors it. The form of the educational system and the purposes to which it will be put are reflective of the host polity (1) and its unique political, economic, social, cultural, and religious characteristics as well as its historical antecedents. Presumably the polity fosters an educational system to reap certain social outcomes (6) which are allegedly produced by the educational sector. These results can include such factors as increases in productivity and income, appropriate occupational preparation, correct political behaviour, literacy, cultural attainments, and so on. They can also include the inculcation of such personality attributes as competitive desires and the willingness to relinquish the control over the process and product of one's productive activities which seem to be at the base of most modern industrial production (Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Bowles and Gintis, 1975). Of course, these social outcomes (6) represent the basis for reproducing the polity from generation to generation, and a return arrow is shown at the bottom of the figure which symbolizes this transmission of characteristics which represent the result of the educational process and their feedback to the polity (1).

But how does the educational sector serve to reproduce these characteristics? In general this is done through a series of processes which the polity actuates and monitors rather closely. The polity is able to generate the basic outlines of the educational process through generating a set of laws which determine the broad operations and objectives of the sector as well as by providing a budget for educational resources that will be used to implement the process as reflected in (2). Such laws include the mandates which describe the required curriculum, admission standards for selective levels and types of public institutions, ages of compulsory attendance, and so on. Of course, the laws and

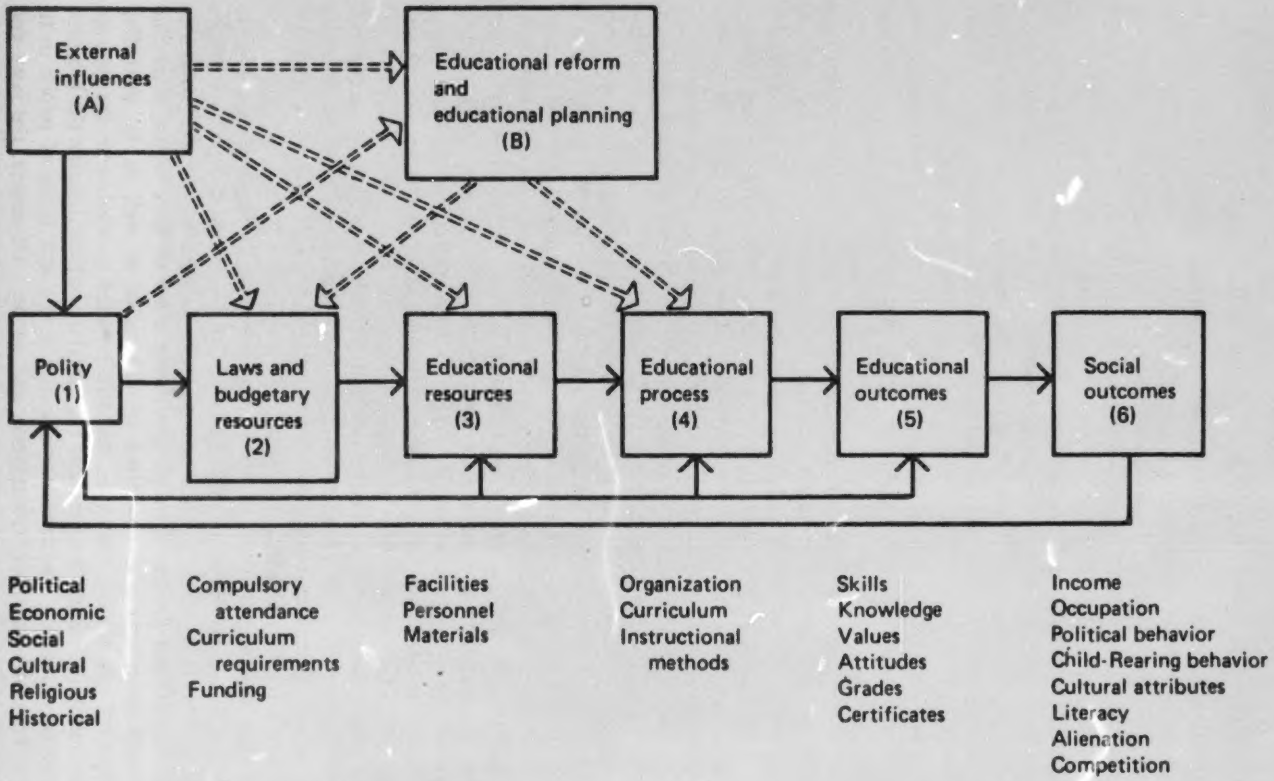
External influences (A)
Educational reform and educational planning (B)
Polity (1)
Laws and budgetary resources (2)
Educational resources (3)
Educational process (4)
Educational outcomes (5)
Social outcomes (6)
Political
Economic
Social
Cultural
Religious
Historical
Compulsory attendance
Curriculum requirements
Funding
Facilities
Personnel
Materials
Organization
Curriculum
Instructional methods
Skills
Knowledge
Values
Attitudes
Grades
Certificates
Income
Occupation
Political behavior
Child-Rearing behavior
Cultural attributes
Literacy
Alienation
Competition

FIGURE 1. *A view of the educational sector and its setting.*

budgets must be translated into a set of resources and activities that can fulfil the intentions of the polity. Through the various educational markets the budget is utilized to obtain teachers, administrators, facilities, materials, and so on (3). Even here it should be recognized that the values and knowledge that characterize the personnel who comprise the educators are derived from their own training and experiences as members of the polity. Such educational personnel are likely to have their own understanding of the characteristics of individuals that are likely to make them successful in their adult life as well as a view of the rules for success. Moreover, they will normally have a clear understanding of which ideas are acceptable in the classroom and which are not. They will be aware of what types of political values and interpretations are proscribed from the schools, and which ones are acceptable or mandatory, and they will be cognizant of the degree to which their job security depends upon presentation of the "correct" views. They will also have a view of which children have "potential" and which do not that is derived from a host of experiences in a class-oriented society which moulds their outlooks and behaviour on such matters. The fact that the state prescribes both the training and selection of teachers certainly reinforces the power of the polity to set limits on the abilities of teachers and other personnel to challenge the existing institutions of the polity.

The next stage of the educational sector (4) entails the organization of these resources into the educational process itself. In general, the process can be described as the dynamics of creating specified interactions among a given number of students and educators situated in a particular facility with a specified curriculum and set of instructional materials. Usually, the primary unit of organization is the classroom, grade, or school plant with some 25 or more students to a teacher, following a relatively rigid sequence of studies that are presented in a structured manner, with the rewards for success being high grades and promotions and the punishments for failure being low grades and retention. Students are generally grouped together at each grade level according to age and to "measured abilities" or socio-economic background, the two being highly related since students from higher social origins have a variety of advantages which are reflected in the way that educational abilities are normally assessed. On the basis of meeting certain requirements as reflected in examination performances or teacher assessments, individuals become eligible or ineligible for further study. Those who perform poorly must leave the educational system for relatively low occupational positions or a lack of opportunities, while those who go farthest in the educational system will ultimately fill the highest occupational roles.

But these latter characteristics of graduates and drop-outs represent some of the social outcomes (6) of the educational sector, results that are generally not immediately observable because they tend to be removed from the educational setting in both time and location. Rather, the observable impacts of the educational process are the proximate educational outcomes (5), such as the grades, certificates, skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes that are inculcated in students. These can be assessed and measured to at least a limited extent in observing the "effects" of schools, and presumably they will ultimately translate into the social outcomes (6) that the educational sector will produce—which, in turn, will characterize the polity (1).

Even the educational process (4) and educational outcomes (5) are quite dependent on the polity. For example, to a large degree the laws and political arrangements determine the curriculum and organization of the schools, and these derive from the larger society rather than from the professional judgments of educators. Of course, to the degree that educators are a product of the polity themselves, their judgments might not be in serious conflict with the results of the political process. Moreover, since the educational outcomes (5) that we have specified are heavily determined by factors outside the school, as most statistical studies have shown (Coleman, 1966; Thorndike, 1975), the levels and distributions of educational outcomes such as skills, knowledge, and other attributes will be strongly affected by the social, economic, and political factors that determine and characterize the family backgrounds and out-of-school experiences of students.

The significant conclusion to be drawn from this description of the educational sector is that there is a high level of correspondence between the activities and organization of that sector and that of the polity itself, and this is reflected by the arrows drawn from the polity to each of the stages of the process. Thus it is no surprise to find that the schools are as competitive as the workplace and that students are willing to perform for such external rewards as grades and promotion rather than for the intrinsic satisfaction of their tasks, just as workers toil for wages and stable employment rather than because they enjoy what they are doing (Behn *et al.*, 1974; Bowles and Gintis, 1975). The measure of importance of both school and work performance is the amount of reward that one can obtain that is external to the activity, rather than the satisfaction of creating something that one feels is worth while.

This is not to say that the educational system has no life of its own, for there is surely some independence. But to a major extent that independence takes the form of educators' demands for better salaries and working conditions rather than an effort to alter the educational system and its operation in such a way as to modify the existing reproduction of the polity. Just as other groups in society attempt to organize to improve their own welfare, so do teachers and other educational personnel. Even though their demands are often couched in the piety of improving educational conditions and the benefits of social change, the mechanisms for conferring such benefits are more likely to be such "improvements" as higher salaries and smaller class sizes, with little change in the educational process.

In summary, the educational system is characterized as the principal formal institution that is sponsored by the State for reproducing the polity. As such, its functions and outcomes tend to correspond with those of the larger society. Not only are the formal characteristics of the institution determined by the polity, but the informal aspects as reflected in the values, knowledge, and personalities of the personnel are also inculcated within the dominant and pervasive culture of the polity. In fact, then, it is hardly a surprise to find that the schools have not represented a dominant force for reducing inequality in society, since the degree of inequality in a society is a direct consequence of the functioning of its economic and political institutions rather than its schools. Indeed, as unequal as are the results of the educational system, they are never found to be more unequal than those of the political, economic, and social institutions of the society that sponsors that system.[1]

Educational planning and reform

But if this description of the functioning of the educational system and its reflection of the polity represent an accurate description of the world, how might educational planning and reform modify the nature and functioning of the educational sector to create changes in the functioning of the polity? Figure 1 shows two sets of forces for change that are often brought to bear on the educational system: external influences (A) and the forces of educational reform and educational planning (B). There are other possible forces which are not represented in the diagram, such as those of internal contradictions that arise in the reproductive process. These and other theories of change will be discussed in a subsequent section. But it is important to note that such changes are not planned or purposive—they arise for other reasons. Only planned changes will be considered in this section.

External influences represent those that derive from outside the national polity, that is from other nations. These can reflect, especially, the influence of colonial relationships where the culture and the economic and political needs of the dominant society tend to mould the shape of the polity in the dependent society (Carnoy, 1974b; Sunkel, 1973). As the solid arrow from these external influences (A) to the polity (1) implies, these factors can have a profound effect on the shaping of the polity and its institutions through the pattern of development that is created by that relationship. Such historical patterns of dependency can shape the nature of the economy by reinforcing certain types of economic activities and ownership, with their accompanying transfer of technology and values from the dominant to the dependent society. Political, cultural, religious, and social institutions can also be transformed by this dependent relation, and all of these will alter the functioning of the educational system in order to reproduce the society in accordance with the nature of the transformed polity.

Of course, the external influences created by other nations and such entities as multi-national corporations can also affect some of the educational processes directly, to the degree that budgetary resources, personnel, and educational technologies are transferred from the dominant societies to the dependent ones. For example, a number of the highly developed countries have provided loans and grants for the implementation of educational television and radio in the developing societies. The technological applications, implementations, curriculum development, and evaluation are often carried out by personnel who are drawn from the advanced societies, and even local personnel are generally trained in such societies or by their representatives (Schramm *et al.*, 1967; *Instructional Science*, 1975). The reason that these relationships are shown with broken arrows is that it is important to recognize that such educational influences are secondary paths that are dependent upon the existence of a much more pervasive primary relationship between these external societies and the polity of the dependent society. That is, this educational assistance does not take place in a vacuum, but it simply reflects the overall support of the dependent polity for the institutions and influences of the dominant society. In fact, the same societies that are providing such educational assistance and influence are simultaneously influencing the path of technological and social development through their immense foreign investments and political dominance.

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[1] Similar measures of inequality for comparable years on the distribution of education and the distribution of income are not readily available for most countries, although they could be calculated on the basis of available data. Compare the findings of Kotwal (1975) on the distribution of education in the OECD countries with the data presented by Jain (1975) on the distribution of income and its changes for the same countries.

This presentation of the basic setting enables us to return to the function of educational reform and educational planning (B). In particular, we are concerned with the role that educational reform and planning can make in altering the function of the educational system so that the polity is itself altered by the changes in the educational outcomes (5) and the social outcomes (6). In general, the educational reform and planning effort can emanate from two sources: the external influences from other societies, or a segment of the polity itself. However, usually the educational reformers and planners are not representative of the polity in that their vision of the future society to which educational planning and reform should be addressed is not consonant with the existing characteristics of that society. Indeed, that is the basic rationale for the reform and the associated planning activity. Accordingly, the dotted line from the polity (1) to the educational reform and planning activity (B) is appropriate only if the planning and reform conform to the reproduction needs of the polity. Reforms that increase the efficiency of the educational system probably fit within this classification, while those that are designed to modify the functions and characteristics of the polity, such as the reduction of oppression and inequalities, are ones that conflict with the reproductive needs of the polity.[1]

This distinction is also made with respect to the external influences and their relation to educational reform. Only in those cases where the external influences represent powerful factors in the transformation of the polity will they reflect a similar role in the creation of educational reform and its associated planning needs. In many cases there will be no external influences, or to the degree

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1. See the distinction made by Andre Gorz (1968) between reformist and non-reformist reforms and their implications.

that they will exist they will press for planning and reforms that increase the efficiency of the educational sector in reproducing the existing polity rather than in transforming it into a qualitatively "superior" one. In fact, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the international effort to increase educational participation or so-called quantitative expansion did more to provide a cheap and exploitable trained labour force for foreign investors and their domestic supporters than to improve the distribution of opportunities and incomes. A review of historical data on the distribution of income shows that in the past three decades there have been few improvements within nations despite the enormous expansion of schooling opportunities and attainments (Jain, 1975). In fact, there is recent evidence that suggests a widening disparity in national incomes among developing societies as the average level of education increases.[1]

Accordingly, the use of educational reform and its associated planning requirements in order to modify the operation of the educational system and transform the polity tends to be an activity that is not normally supported by the polity itself. For example, the most advantaged economic, political, and social groups tend to dominate the government, media, and schools as well as the value systems of the polity, and such advantaged groups do not normally favour the redistribution of their favoured status to the less fortunate (Poulantzas, 1973). Rather, such a goal derives from an idealistic approach of the reformers and planners whose personal views differ from those reflected by the functioning of the existing society of which they are a part. Accordingly, the planners and reformers must attempt to achieve their qualitative changes by obtaining modifications of the laws and budgetary resources (2), the types and quantities of educational resources that are utilized (3), and various aspects of the educational process (4), such as curriculum. Countering these attempts will be the various influences of the polity that pervade each of these activities in obtaining their compliance with the *status quo* and with continued reproduction of the polity.

For example, one type of qualitative reform and planning that might be undertaken would be to provide additional resources and changes in curriculum and teacher training to improve the education of children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The expectation is that such compensatory education for poor children would take place through increases in budgets and changes in goals (2), associated changes in the nature and distribution of educational resources (3), alterations of the educational process to focus more

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1. One of the best-documented of these cases is Brazil, where income inequalities have risen in spite of substantial economic growth and educational expansion. See Fishlow (1972) and Carnoy (1974a). I know of no study which has found a positive relationship between rising educational attainments and greater equality in the distribution of income. It is interesting to note that even the most optimistic study on this relationship concludes that an increase in the average level of schooling of a society "... might not have the alleged bad side-effect of worsening the size distribution of income" (Marin and Psacharopoulos, 1976).

heavily on the needs of disadvantaged children (4), concomitant and resultant improvements in the absolute and relative educational outcomes of such youngsters (5), and the translation of these improved educational outcomes into higher social outcomes for the disadvantaged (6) which will lead to an increase in equality in the polity (1) at some future time period.

Elaborate changes would be planned for increasing the budget in order to hire additional specialists and materials, and to create smaller learning groups among disadvantaged children. New courses and curricula would be introduced in the teacher-training institutions to sensitize teachers to the needs of this youth and to train them with new methods that address this need. Appropriate modifications would also take place in the educational process itself that would utilize these additional resources and newly-trained teachers, and existing teachers would be retrained to alter their teaching methods in appropriate ways.

But consider that despite all of these changes, there is little evidence that each aspect whether taken separately or with the other aspects will create the equalizing effects that are desired. Teachers are themselves a product of an unequal society which discriminates strongly among persons drawn from different social-class origins and among such indicators of social class as language, dress, and mode of self-presentation. Further, the organizational structure of the school is designed to rate student performances under competitive conditions in order to stratify students according to their "aptitudes". To the degree that the worldly experiences of teachers continue to reinforce the view that social-class factors are highly related to aptitudes, little change in teacher expectations and results will ensue. Under such conditions, the pervasive influences of the actual society in which teachers live and work will tend to dominate the values and behaviour of teachers rather than a few short-lived training classes in which they are instructed to improve their attitudes towards and techniques with children from the poor families.

Likewise, the situations of the students from different class origins remain the same with differences in nutrition, health status, language, and family experiences continuing to favour the advantaged child (Levin, 1973). Thus, while the attempt to provide additional resources, change curriculum, and retrain teachers is certainly well-meaning and may be intricately planned and executed, it is not likely to compensate for all the other influences which reinforce the inequalities created by the existing polity. In fact, there is little evidence that national strategies of compensatory education for the disadvantaged that include all of these aspects can compensate for inequalities that emanate from the social, economic, and political systems themselves, of which the schools are merely an extension (Carnoy and Levin, 1976; Levin, 1977). And in many cases it is probable that educational reforms that are rationalized, at least in part, by their professed benefits for the poor show even greater benefits for the more advantaged (Härnqvist, 1966 and 1976; Cook *et al.*, 1975).

III. Education and training for alleviating poverty[1]

In order to provide a concrete illustration of the limits of educational planning and reform, it is useful to review a major attempt to use education and training to alleviate poverty. In this case I will review the experience of the well-known education and training programmes of the War on Poverty that were carried out by the U.S. Government during the decade of the sixties and the early seventies. To a very large degree the War on Poverty was identified with such programmes as Head Start, Job Corps, Upward Bound, Follow Through, and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. These activities represent a clear attempt to use educational policy to alter a traditional outcome of the U.S. economic system by attempting to reduce the existing incidence of poverty in our society.

There exist at least two broad versions of the reasons for poverty in America. The first view suggests that poverty is the result of a lack of willingness to work or an inability to be productive enough to justify wages above the poverty level. The alternative view asserts that there are inadequate employment opportunities which would provide jobs for all who wish to work at non-poverty wages. The former view is predicated on the assumption that persons who are in poverty are either lazy or unproductive, while the latter view suggests that it is the society itself that is responsible for poverty by not creating enough productive employment.

It is very clear that the education and training programmes ignored the explanation of societal responsibility for poverty and chose to place the burden on impoverished individuals by assuming that they were incompetent to be adequately productive in the labour market. Accordingly, it was only necessary to provide them with the skills and competencies that would overcome their inadequacies to get them out of poverty. As the *Economic Report of the President of 1964* stated: "If children of poor families can be given skills and motivation, they will not become poor adults."

Educators also rallied to this explanation as they focused on the one explanation for poverty that would place educational and training efforts at the heart of an anti-poverty strategy. As summarized by a noted educational psychologist:

> Incompetence and poverty are interrelated. As a characteristic of individual persons, incompetence results in poverty. And, the poverty of one generation becomes, by virtue of the circumstances which hamper the development of abilities and motives, a basis for the incompetence of the next generation. As the burgeoning role of technology in our society calls for higher and higher levels of competence in larger and larger supply, those without at least fairly high levels of competence find it harder and harder to earn their way in the marketplace and to participate in the affluence deriving from our technology. (Hunt, 1969: vii)

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[1] This section is based upon Levin, 1977.

Ignored in the educational solution was the fact that even the minimum wage would not have been adequate to provide earnings for a full-time worker who was the breadwinner for a family of four, and there was no evidence to indicate that unemployment and low wages were primarily a function of low skill-levels. But such an approach surely provided a rationale for initiating new educational and training programmes and expanding existing ones as a principal anti-poverty palliative.

At least thirty separate federal educational and training programmes for low-income populations were either initiated or expanded during the first ten years of the poverty programme, 1965-74. Table 1 provides a summary of these programmes and their expenditures in particular years. Different types of programmes were designed for different populations. At the pre-school level, Head Start was initiated to provide "readiness" skills for primary schooling. At the elementary-secondary level the most important programme was that set out by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, particularly the compensatory education expenditures for the educationally deprived of Title I. Other efforts included programmes to identify college prospects among disadvantaged youth to prepare them for college, various nutritional programmes, increases in vocational educational spending and attempts to prepare teacher specialists for schools in urban and rural depressed areas through Teacher Corps.

For young adults there was the Job Corps which attempted to teach basic and vocational skills at residential sites removed from the neighbourhoods of the enrollees as well as the Neighborhood Youth Corps which provided low-paying jobs in the community in order to assist youths of secondary-school age to remain in school. At the higher educational level there were various types of grants and loan programmes both to institutions and to low-income individuals that would provide specialized academic and financial assistance to the educationally disadvantaged. Finally, a number of programmes were enacted for providing basic skill training to adults as well as for expanding manpower training programmes that would inculcate marketable skills among participants.

In summary, the federal government initiated and expanded a large number of programmes for improving the competencies of low-income populations in order to assist them in escaping from their poverty. In 1973 alone over $5.5 billion were allocated to these activities, and it is important to note that we have not considered the efforts of the courts or the Department of Justice to improve the schools through racial integration or the emerging federal and state attempts to address inequities in financing elementary and secondary education.

These educational and training strategies for bringing people out of poverty had the following characteristics: at the pre-school and elementary-secondary levels the main goal was to improve the basic cognitive skills of disadvantaged youngsters through early childhood education and compensatory expenditures. At the secondary level, there were also attempts to reduce drop-outs and to increase future college attendance among the poor. The agenda for young

TABLE 1. Major educational and training programmes for low-income persons funded at federal level, 1965-74

Programme	Appropriations (in millions of dollars) 1965	1969	1973
Pre-school			
Head Start	103	348	389[a]
Elementary-secondary			
ESEA of 1965			
Title I—educationally deprived	—	1,123	1,810[a]
Title VII—bilingual education	—	7	50[a]
Title VIII—drop-outs	—	5	8[a]
Upward Bound		(included in Talent Search)	
School Lunch programme	146	162	226[a]
School Breakfast programme	—	3.5	18[a]
Emergency School Aid Act	—	—	271[a]
Vocational Education	156	248	434[a]
Teacher Corps	—	21	38[a]
Young adults			
Neighborhood Youth Corps	132	301	417[b]
Job Corps	175	280	193[b]
Higher Education			
Higher Education Act of 1965			
Title I—matching grants	—	9.5	15[a]
Title III—developing institutions	—	30	52[a]
Title IV			
Educational Opportunity Grants	—	134	274
Guaranteed Loans	—	71	240[a]
Work-Study	—	146	274[a]
Talent Search	—	34	72[a]
Adults			
Adult Education Act of 1966	4.2	45	75[a]
Migrant Workers	15	27	36
Work Experience	112	101[c]	209[c]
Jobs Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS)	—	161[b]	73[c]
Manpower Development Training Act	397	404	381[b]

Sources: Most of the data were taken from the Appendix, U.S. Budget, various years. Those programmes that were administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were reviewed in the *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1974; and those of the Department of Labor were reviewed in the *Manpower Report of the President*, April 1974. The figures drawn from different sources may not be similar because of changes in programme definitions and in methods of reporting (e.g., appropriations, obligations, expenditures). Moreover, some of the earlier figures are revised in later documents. Accordingly, this listing is intended to provide a general pattern of the magnitude of the various programmes, rather than a more rigorous classification for accounting purposes.

[a] Expenditures.

[b] Obligations

[c] Work Incentive Program.

adults who had dropped out of school or were potential drop-outs was that of part-time work to obtain job training and income while in school as well as vocational training and intensive job training.

Higher educational programmes focused on the encouragement of able, but needy, students to pursue college training through remedial and other programmes as well as through increased financial aids for the poor in order to induce more of the disadvantaged to attend college. For adults, the programmes concentrated on teaching basic skills and providing work experience as well as upgrading job skills through the programmes of the Manpower Development Training Act.

Evaluation of the programmes

The fact that virtually hundreds of evaluations were carried out on the various educational and training programmes enables us to assess the effects of the programmes on alleviating poverty. The three principal strategies that were attempted included: (1) improving basic cognitive skills, especially reading and mathematics; (2) increasing educational attainments; and (3) inculcating specific job skills. Table 2 shows these three approaches, the programmes that were associated with each strategy, the measures of educational outcome for each one, and the nature of evidence that would indicate the impact of the strategy on reducing poverty.

TABLE 2. Anti-poverty strategies and their relations to measures of educational outcome and evidence of poverty reduction.

	Anti-poverty strategy		
	Basic cognitive skills	Increased educational attainments	Specific job skills
Programmes	Head Start Title I, ESEA Adult Education Act Bilingual Education	Upward Bound Neighborhood Youth Corps Educational Opportunity Grants Work Study Talent Search Drop-out	Vocational Education Job Corps Work MDTA JOBS
Measure of educational outcome	High test scores	More schooling	Programme completions and skills in job-related areas
Evidence of poverty reduction	Strong relation between test scores and earnings	Higher annual earnings without displacing other workers	Higher employment and earnings, without displacing other workers

Programmes are grouped in Table 2 according to their principal focus. The first category includes those programmes that would increase the basic cognitive skills of children and adults. It is expected that the success of these programmes would be reflected in higher test scores and that evidence of poverty reduction would be found in a strong impact of higher test scores on earnings. The second category reviews those programmes that were designed to increase educational attainments. The success of these approaches would be reflected in additional years of schooling acquired by enrollees in these programmes relative to otherwise similar non-participants. The evidence that these results would reduce poverty would be higher annual earnings associated with more schooling, without the displacement of other workers into the poverty category. The third group of programmes is those that are aimed at inculcating specific job skills. The expectation is that these programmes would show their educational outcomes on the basis of programme completions and evidence of skills in job-related areas. Their impact on poverty would be indicated by a strong positive impact of participation, programme completion, and job skills on employment and earnings without displacing other workers.

Since the analysis along these dimensions draws upon several hundred evaluations and has been summarized elsewhere, it is not possible or necessary to review each study here.[1] However, it is important to summarize the evidence on both educational outcomes and related poverty reduction that is associated with each of the strategies and sets of programmes. In the case of the first group of programmes, the evaluations of Head Start and of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts of 1965 have indicated no systematic long-term improvements in cognitive test scores among disadvantaged children that have been enrolled in the programmes. There have been some isolated cases in which improvements have occurred, but even these seem to have evaporated when students were assessed in subsequent years. Similar disappointing results were found for the assessment of test score gains within other programmes in this category.

But even if we assume that there were small improvements in the cognitive test scores of students in these programmes and that they were retained into the adult years, there must be a significant impact of test scores on income in order for such educational outcomes to reduce the probability of poverty status for persons from disadvantaged origins. Recent evidence suggests that the influence of cognitive skills on earnings is surprisingly small. At most about 10 per cent of the variance in earnings seems to be associated with test scores for age-specific populations, suggesting that 90 per cent or more of the variance is likely to be attributable to other factors.[2]

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1. A comprehensive review is found in Levin, 1977, from which these generalizations are taken. That review draws upon virtually all of the existing evaluations for the first decade of the War on Poverty.
2. See for example the correlations in Sewell and Hauser, 1976; Jencks *et al.*, 1972; Griliches and Mason, 1972; Ribich and Murphy, 1975; and Bowles and Nelson, 1974.

Perhaps the best overall analysis of the possible impact that compensatory education for increasing reading skills might have on earnings is reflected in a recent study. A National Reading Survey was undertaken by the Educational Testing Service in 1973 to obtain a national probability sample of men and women aged 16 and over in all geographical areas, and data were collected on socio-economic and other background variables, educational level, and reading proficiencies. Each respondent was asked to undertake a test of reading proficiency which consisted of seventeen tasks, "... carefully constructed to assess the respondent's capability to read the kind of material that appears frequently in day-to-day life in the contemporary United States".[1]

On the basis of single-equation and recursive systems of equations for explaining wages, work hours, schooling, and annual earnings, the authors attempted to estimate the effects of reading scores and other influences on earnings and earning-related outcomes. Of particular relevance to this study is the estimated effect of reading scores on earnings with appropriate statistical controls for other influences. Only among white males was there evidence of a statistically significant impact of reading competence on earnings (despite large sample sizes).[2] For white females and for blacks there was no apparent relation between reading proficiency and earnings. Even among the white males the effect was small. A one-standard-deviation increase in test score (equivalent to a rise from the fiftieth percentile to the eighty-fourth percentile) was associated with only $470 a year or three per cent of the earnings of the average white male in the sample. Yet there is no compensatory education programme that has been shown to increase reading scores by such a large amount.

In summary, the cognitive-skills programmes for raising people out of poverty have not proved promising, because there is little evidence of salient improvements in cognitive skills and because differences in cognitive skills do not seem to show a strong relation to differences in earnings. Since there seems to be a stronger link between earnings and the number of years of schooling attained, it is useful to explore the second and the anti-poverty educational strategies, the attempts to increase schooling attainments.

Evaluations of such programmes as Upward Bound, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and even increased school expenditures suggest that they had little effect on the amount of schooling that was completed by disadvantaged youngsters. Even those programmes that appeared to be successful initially were found to show no strong impact after comparisons were made with appropriate control groups.

Again, one must ask what effect the programmes would have had on reducing poverty if they had been successful in raising educational attainments. Obviously, this must depend upon the translation of additional schooling into additional earnings. Again it appears that the results are rather disappointing.

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1. See Young and Jamison, 1974: 2. This study has a wealth of empirical information on the relation of reading scores and earnings.
2. *Ibid.*, Tables 2 and 3.

First, the returns to minorities and the disadvantaged for additional schooling achievements at levels below the completion of college appear to be lower than for more advantaged and white youth.[1] Second, the surplus of college-educated youngsters in recent years has even driven down the traditionally high returns to college education, so that even the few better-educated disadvantaged will be obtaining those credentials at a time when the college degree has fallen in relative value.[2]

Finally, even the probability of higher earnings for a person with more education that will release him from the bonds of poverty will not alleviate poverty in the society if he simply displaces a job-holder with less schooling. That is, if a person who achieves more schooling is able to improve his economic standing by bumping another person from the employed category to the rolls of unemployed or under-employed, then there may be no net impact on poverty reduction. The existence of this phenomenon is reflected by the fact that despite a dramatic improvement in equality in the distribution of education, the distribution of income has remained remarkably constant or has deteriorated slightly over the last two decades.[3] And the most sophisticated attempt to ascertain the determinants of changes in income inequality between 1939 and 1965 found that most of the observed differences in inequality were explained by changes in employment conditions rather than changes in the distribution of education (Chiswick and Mincer, 1972).

In summary, the strategy of alleviating poverty through programmes that encourage disadvantaged persons to obtain more schooling seems to have been characterized by two shortcomings. First, it does not appear that the programmes were very successful in raising educational attainments. Second, it does not seem likely that increasing educational attainments of the existing poor would have reduced substantially the poverty class in a society where there are simply an inadequate number of jobs at wages above the poverty level to absorb all job-seekers. Accordingly, it does not seem likely that this strategy represented a powerful anti-poverty remedy.

The third strategy of improving job skills through manpower training programmes for the disadvantaged showed mixed results. Those programmes that enrolled individuals who were very close to the poverty line and who had previous employment experience and relatively higher levels of education than the average disadvantaged person seemed to be able to raise earnings above the poverty level, while those enrolling either disadvantaged youth or adults who were well below the poverty line showed little success. Even in the successful cases, it is not clear that the "graduates" did better than comparable groups who had not enrolled, but unfortunately few of the studies attempted to use control groups for purposes of comparison. Not only did those populations that were solidly entrenched in poverty not appear to rise above poverty status after receiving manpower training, but even the "successes" were likely

[1] Harrison, 1972; Bluestone *et al.*, 1973; and more generally, Gorton, 1972.

[2] See Freeman, 1976, for an extensive analysis and discussion.

[3] This is discussed in Thurow, 1975, and Levin, 1977: 168-71.

to have bumped capable job-holders on to the jobless rolls. Thus there is little support for the view that such programmes provided a net reduction in poverty, but rather their impact was to redistribute it slightly among the population.

Despite a wide variety of programmes and substantial resource allocations, the evaluations suggest that the education and training programmes of the War on Poverty had a very minimal impact on reducing poverty. Evaluations and analyses of individual programmes, groups of programmes, and even an analysis of changes in the distribution of earned income over the period show little or no evidence of success. What lesson does this have for our analysis of educational policy?

To return to our original theme, the failure of the educational and training programmes of the War on Poverty to alleviate poverty should not be surprising. Poverty and inequality in income are an integral part of the U.S. system of monopoly capitalism. They do not derive from the lack of capability of the impoverished, but from the lack of employment opportunities in a society in which the maximization of profits is not consistent with full employment and in which many available jobs provide wages that are at or below poverty levels.[1] Even a full-time job at the minimum wage of $2.30 an hour would not come close to supporting a family of four at the present government poverty line of about $5,800 a year.

Further, there is no shortage of "human resources" in the U.S., but a surplus.[2] Recent studies suggest that probably the vast majority of jobs do not come close to utilizing all of the job skills of the holder.[3] Under these conditions, pay scales seem to be linked much more closely to the nature of the job than to the nature of the job holder.[4] One need only look at the types of jobs that are being performed by recent college graduates to see the degree to which it is the nature of available jobs rather than the skills of this group which create their poor economic prospects, and the situation is even grimmer for *capable* persons with less education. While the historical analysis of how this came about requires too much detail to address here, the important implication of this situation is that it results from factors which are beyond the control of educational policy.[5]

IV. Educational planning as ideology

To return to our original theme, social dilemmas that arise out of the basic functioning of the economic, social, and political institutions of the society are not amenable to solution through educational planning and reform. The leverage available to the most benevolent educational reformer and planner is limited by the lack of a constituency for change and the overwhelming momentum of educational and social processes in the direction of social reproduction of the existing polity. And there is a deleterious result in our efforts if educational attempts to change society tend to divert attention away from the locus of the problem by creating and legitimating the ideology that the schools can be used to solve problems which did not originate in the educational sector.

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[1] Lekachman, 1977, argues that the spectre of full employment poses a "catastrophe" for capitalism.

[2] See Berg, 1970, and Freeman, 1976, for a discussion.

[3] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1973; Terkel, 1974.

[4] See the description of the job queue and job competition in Thurow, 1972 and 1975.

[5] Some historical analysis is found in Bowles and Gintis, 1976.

There are at least three elements to such an ideology. The first is that a major purpose of the educational system is to solve such problems as poverty, oppression, and uneven political and social participation. The second element is based upon the tacit assumption that social change takes place through social planning and management rather than by other processes. The third aspect presumes that the only limits to changing society through educational planning and reform are an inadequate resource base, an insufficient knowledge base, or a lack of appropriately-trained planners. Let us address each of these in turn.

The first element proceeds from the rather peculiar premise that poverty, prejudice, repression, and domination are considered to be universally repugnant to all societies and all of their members. It is assumed unquestionably that societies wish to rid themselves of these cancers, but the only way that they can be excised is by utilizing the educational system. Such a view implies that (a) the wealthy wish to redistribute their wealth and income to the poor; (b) dominant political groups wish to share their power with the disenfranchised; and (c) exploitation and repression of the weak by the powerful is a product of ignorance. Somehow, it is assumed that there is consensus on these issues, but the solutions cannot be effected without educating the poor, disenfranchised, and oppressed so that in the future they can be "more equal".

More specifically, this element of the planning ideology assumes and promotes two tacit beliefs. First, the political problems of societies have been resolved in favour of a benign consensus, but it is necessary for the educational system to make that political consensus a reality. And second, the "better" society is necessarily one that must wait until the future, when the people are appropriately educated. I would argue that the continuing functioning of the societies to produce unspeakable poverty and squalor on the one hand and unimaginable wealth on the other; to sanction a ruling class and a disenfranchised one; and to sponsor political, economic, and physical repression is evidence enough that the political problems have not been resolved by consensus, and that they will not yield to a "technical" solution at some future time through the use of the educational system. Indeed, the educational system will tend to reproduce these relationships.

The second element of the planning ideology is the view that social change is essentially a planned or managed phenomenon. Despite the plethora of alternative theories on how social change comes about (Appelbaum, 1970), the educational planner has selected the one viewpoint that places him at the forefront in manipulating the levers of change. Thus, the literature of educational planning is couched in terminology that suggests that educational planners, reformers, and policy specialists have a substantial control over social outcomes. Yet the evidence that basic changes in the educational process can be planned that will alter social outcomes will not emerge. That is, it is the external appearance of planning and its rationality that have become the symbol of change itself. If planners and reformers use such terminology as *change agents, managed change* and *planned change*, they and their followers tend to believe that the use of the language and the logic of rational change imply a control of the change process itself. In contrast, a review of the educational reform and implementation literature suggests that the rhetoric of reform is probably its most important manifestation, rather than the changes that it claims to produce (Charters, 1973; Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein, 1971; Sarason, 1971).

For example, it is sobering to consider the experience at implementing even nominal planned reforms that attempted to intervene in the educational process in the United States. For several decades there have existed projects to retrain teachers in subject matter, teaching methods, knowledge of particular cultural groups, new modes of curriculum organization, and so on. At a more specific level there have been attempts to alter traditional staffing patterns, and to implement team-teaching approaches, open classrooms, flexible modular scheduling, educational radio and television, racial desegregation, and changes in school governance. There is no evidence to support the view that these attempts have made any difference in any measurable outcome or process of schooling, and in many cases it is not even clear that anything other than their external appearances was even initiated (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975).

The third element of the ideology assumes that the only limits to changing society through educational planning are insufficient resources, an inadequate knowledge base, or lack of appropriately-trained planners. In the first case it is argued that the resources that are made available for educational planning and initiation of the plans are not sufficient to support the educational changes that are necessary for the solution of social problems. In this event, the remedy is to obtain a larger share of the government budget. In the second case it is maintained that some of the technical knowledge that is necessary to improve educational and social outcomes is not yet available. The prescription for this situation is a greater investment in research to uncover the crucial technical relations on such matters as the determinants of scholastic achievement or more cost-effective methods of providing educational services or providing the proper type of education to improve productivity and citizenship. In the case of a lack of appropriately-trained planners, the obvious diagnosis is to train more of them and to improve the proficiencies of existing educational planners. Thus, the ideology assumes that any limits of educational planning can be overcome by obtaining increased resources, pursuing additional research, and training new planners while upgrading the proficiencies of existing ones.

Challenge to the ideology

But the preceding analysis of the educational sector challenges this ideology. We have attempted to demonstrate that the limits of educational planning and reform are embedded in the normal functioning of our social, economic, and political institutions. The leverage available to the educational planner and reformer has been shown to be constrained by the lack of a powerful constituency for change as well as by the overwhelming momentum of the educational process in the direction of social reproduction. Within this context, educational planning can succeed only when it is consistent with the major thrust of the sponsoring institutions of society. More specifically, there are three types of situations in which educational planning can succeed in achieving its goals.

First, there is the case where the goal of the planner is essentially logistical. This is true when educational planning is limited to such exercises as the design and location of new school buildings or the expansion of teacher training or the provision of student transportation services. Given an adequate budget, knowledge base, and trained planners, it is possible to produce and initiate a plan for constructing new school plants or increasing teacher training or arranging appropriate transportation services. Educational planners can be as successful at logistical exercises as can other planners.

Second, there is the case where the planner will set out the requirements for educational changes that do not threaten or appear to threaten the present operations of other institutions or dominant groups in the society. A good example of this is curriculum reform that does not challenge the existing social order. For example, it should be possible to develop and implement a new approach to science education for the primary grades. In this case the planners would assist other educators in the construction of curriculum, the training and retraining of teachers, the creation and distribution of instructional materials, and the other tasks which are necessary for a successful development and implementation. Even so, there may be formidable obstacles to adoption of the innovations, as historical analyses have shown (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975).

Third, there is the case where educational planning conforms to the changes that are consistent with the requirements of the polity. For example, the success of planning and implementing educational expansion in developing societies is a case in point. Most of these societies are predicated upon a development model in which an attempt is made to attract foreign investment. But the business of investors is to make profits, not to assist societies in developing or becoming more nearly egalitarian and democratic. The attractiveness of investment in developing nations is attributable directly to the prospects of securing enormous profits with little risk. These conditions are satisfied when there is a large reserve army of trained labour that is not permitted to organize in its own behalf. Such a labour force can be exploited at low wages for long hours without concern about its safety and health. The role of educational expansion in such a setting is to keep the labour market slack so that labour costs remain low and workers can be exploited, given their lack of alternatives.

It is little wonder that the educational systems were expanded, far beyond that which would be justified by available jobs. Industry, government, and the local élites who were the principal domestic beneficiaries of foreign investment promoted the educational expansion, and parents created a strong social demand for more schooling for their own children in order not to fall behind in the quest for social mobility and status. Of course, in the aggregate the expansion of the schools meant that an individual would need more and more schooling to maintain even a low position in the society. But this entire constellation of forces served to foster an educational strategy for expanding the amount of exploitable trained labour. Such strategies were often buttressed by loans from the countries that were benefiting from the profits of foreign investment, with particular emphasis on the use of educational media exported from the advanced societies.[1] And generally the educational reforms that were designed to make this expansion more rapid and efficient tended to be successful.

V. Other views of social change and educational planning

In this analysis, it was asserted that educational planning cannot be used to rid societies of repression, inequality, injustice, and alienation of youth and adults without changes in the institutions that create these conditions in the first place. The educational sector was described according to its crucial functions in reproducing the social, political, economic, and cultural relations of the sponsoring society, while the ideology of educational planning and reform argues for opposing and modifying those relations. Accordingly, it was maintained that attempts to alter the functioning of basic social, political, and economic institutions through the educational system will be limited by the fact that the functioning of the educational sector and educational outcomes are controlled largely by the pervasive institutions of the polity rather than the reverse.

The failure of educational reform and its associated planning exercise to alter basic social conditions is hardly a new observation. It is obvious in comparing the early optimism of John Dewey for transforming the existing industrial order through educational reform with his later scepticism about educational reform in the absence of structural social and economic changes. In the earlier period, Dewey maintained that the harsh inequalities and destructively alienating qualities of working life could be altered by creating schools that emphasized intrinsically satisfying activities and democratic participation among youth (Dewey, 1916: Chap. 23). According to Dewey, this transformation would "... depend more upon the adoption of educational methods calculated to effect the change than upon anything else. For the change is essentially a change in the quality of mental disposition—an educative change" (Dewey, 1916: 316).

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[1] See Schramm *et al.*, 1967, and the articles in *Instructional science* (1975) on the use of the media.

But by the time that the Progressive Education Movement (Cremin, 1964), which had been inspired by the Dewey reforms, had reached its maturity, Dewey began to see the powerful effect that existing social, economic, and political institutions were able to marshal against both educational and social changes. According to Dewey:

> ... present conditions in American society are such as to constitute a real threat to our democratic heritage. Existing economic and legal arrangements have so concentrated wealth in the hands of a small class that equality of opportunity has been destroyed in the economic sphere. This privileged class also seeks to maintain its position by restricting that free expression of thought, and that experimental use of intelligence which are foundational in a democratic society (Childs, 1939: 443).

Throughout the world we see similar conditions in a majority of the developing societies, with their domination by the gigantic multi-national corporations of the "western" bloc of advanced nations or the state-socialist governments of the "eastern" bloc. In both cases the developmental paths represent a greater reflection of the needs of these powerful external forces and their internal supporters of well-rewarded élites rather than any set of domestic needs that have been set out by internal democratic processes.

Indeed, to the degree that discussion of utilizing educational planning for addressing repression, inequality, injustice, and alienation is taken seriously, it will tend to mask the true sources of these human miseries, for none of them originated historically in the educational system. Thus the focus on educational planning and reforms can have the rather pernicious effect of blaming the educational systems for the unenviable conditions facing the vast majorities of people in the developing societies, rather than the institutions that have created and maintained these conditions in the first place.

It is probably reasonable to conclude that as long as the claims of educational reform and planning remain at the rhetorical stage, they pose no danger to the established institutions and serve a valuable function for the ruling groups by blaming the lack of justice, equality, and freedom on the failures of education rather than on the military and political dictatorships that serve the interests of multi-national capital and state-socialist hegemony. That is the danger with suggesting that such educational approaches have promise for drastic social change, when at the very least such premises are completely untested. If the historical and structural analyses that we have referred to in this paper are correct, educational planning and reforms have been tested and have failed to succeed in altering those aspects of the polity that we find so repugnant.

An alternative theory of social change and its educational consequences

In this final section I would like to sketch a theory of change which is quite different from the "planned" or "managed" change approach. It appears to have particularly good explanatory value in addressing the historical changes in education in the United States and in predicting educational reform. Only a brief description of the model will be presented here, but a substantial elaboration will be published in the near future.[1] Moreover, a specific application of the approach to Western Europe has been published recently (Levin, 1976).

Essentially, this approach views the rise of the educational system as a response to the needs of the emerging factory system of the early nineteenth century (in the advanced countries) for appropriately socialized labour. In a more concrete sense, there were three functions of schooling that contributed to the reproduction and expansion of the production process: (1) the development of a workforce with the appropriate vocational skills for existing jobs or on-the-job training; (2) the inculcation of behaviours, habits, values, and acceptance of social roles that initiate the young into the workplace while predisposing them to the organization of capitalist production; and (3) the establishment of a system of socialization and certification for work roles that systematically differentiated the occupational socialization by class, race, and sex while legitimating the systematic differences in life chances among these groups.

The educational system developed as a crucial factor for reproducing the later system of monopoly capitalism, where the inherent contradictions of the capitalist work relation were mediated crucially by the early inculcation of youngsters to the ultimate realities that they would have to face in the workplace. But even within this pattern of correspondence, the schools have also exhibited their own dynamic, which has tended to create a divergence over time from the efficient preparation of appropriately prepared workers for the needs of present capitalist and state employers. One of these divergences has been the tendency to produce more highly-educated workers than can be absorbed by the economic system. This is best seen in terms of the role of the schools as an institution for obtaining social mobility in the advanced countries.

That is, the incentive to obtain more education in order to attain a higher social, occupational, or income level can produce its own consequences if the expansion of jobs at the appropriate levels does not keep pace with the expansion of schools. As long as historical conditions were characterized by rapid economic growth and relatively greater increases in demand for skilled labour, as had been the case in the U.S. and most of Western Europe until quite recently, it was possible for the labour market to absorb the increases in educated labour. Shifts from agriculture to manufacturing established an initial demand for educated workers, and expansion of the work hierarchy required higher levels of education for managers and technical specialists. Following this transition there has been a shift from manufacturing to services, with an attendant increase in the demand for white-collar workers, managers, and professionals, and all these phases were driven by high rates of economic growth.

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[1] This is being carried out by researchers at the Center for Economic Studies in Palo Alto, California, and will be published in a monograph by this writer and others which is titled tentatively, *The dialectic of education and work.*

But recent years have seen a breakdown of this historical correspondence, with the enormous expansion of post-secondary education outpacing the increase in the numbers of appropriate jobs for university graduates. Slower rates of economic growth in these countries will produce only a modest expansion of opportunities. Moreover, the high cost of energy, saturation of home markets, and relatively high labour costs in comparison with the less-developed countries mean that future economic growth rates will not approach those of the post-World War II period. In the meantime, the numbers of university graduates will continue to increase at a very rapid rate, especially in Western Europe.

It is the divergence between the educational expansion, with its rising expectations of an increasingly educated labour force for jobs commensurate with their educational attainments, and the inability of Western European and U.S. monopoly capitalism and its supportive state bureaucracies to meet those expectations, that will provide the basis for change in both the educational and the work setting. For as young educated workers find increasingly that their job expectations are not likely to be satisfied, they will not be integrated into work structures as readily and in as docile a manner as were their predecessors. Higher education tends to inculcate skills, values, and attitudes that correspond to the most prestigious jobs in the work hierarchy, as well as creating expectations of having the high status, income, independence and mobility that such jobs afford. In contrast, young university graduates will find themselves competing with relatively less-educated workers for jobs of lower prestige and income that allow only limited mobility and that are characterized by a much greater tendency towards routinized work.

The symptoms of this divergence between the schools and the workplace will be the increasing disaffection of youth towards both work and society, and rampant social instability as the expectations created by the system of socialization are dashed by the distasteful realities of the available opportunities. Frustrations and dissatisfaction that will ensue will manifest themselves increasingly in disruptions of production and lower productivity. Examples of these are likely to be further deterioration in the quality of workmanship, so that quality control will become a more serious problem. In addition, we are likely to see rising incidences of absenteeism, employee turnover, and alcohol and drug usage on the job, as well as increasing work stoppages created by wildcat strikes and employee sabotage. These problems are already evident in Western Europe (Jenkins, 1974), and they have become significant enough in the U.S. for the national government to issue its own report on the subject (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1973: Chaps. 2 and 3).

In short, the increasing disjuncture between the values and expectations of the educated worker and the realities of the workplace will create what Gintis (1975) has called a new working class of revolutionary youth, an educated proletariat. Moreover, the magnitude of the divergence and its effects is likely to move beyond the workplace to the schools and possibly the streets and other institutions in the form of a sequel to the strikes of 1968, at least in countries such as France and Germany where the conflicts will be most exacerbated. The timing and extent of the crisis will depend on the ability of the state and capitalist employers to mediate the contradiction by altering both education and work to bring them once again into correspondence. These include attempts to change the normal patterns of educational development and to reduce expectations of high occupational status and mobility for educated workers by altering the organization of work. Specific reforms or proposed reforms include the following:

(1) Increasing the selectivity of universities. There has been a progressive introduction of restricted entrance into the universities in such countries as Germany, France and the Scandinavian nations, where the most prestigious fields of study are restricted to students who meet specific study or examination requirements (Pellegrin, 1974b: 86). It is likely that these types of admission structures will increase, in order to discourage students from applying as well as to reduce the numbers who might otherwise be eligible to attend. In addition, we are likely to see increases in drop-out or wastage rates as pressures are put on the university faculties to "cool-out" higher numbers of enrollees. This phenomenon has been historically associated with those institutions of higher education that are less selective at entry (OECD, *Development of higher education 1950-1967*, 1974: Chap. VI).

(2) Absorbing increases through alternative higher education. There will be an increasing move towards absorbing the enrolments of the "new entrants" through lower-cost and less prestigious alternatives such as Open Universities that use correspondence, radio, and television courses; a renewed emphasis on the short-cycle higher-education course and development of community-college types of institutions as they exist in the U.S. and U.K.; and expansion of the non-prestigious fields of study relative to the more prestigious ones. These developments will have the effect of further developing a system of social stratification within higher education which will identify the marketability of students according to a refined credentialism. Since the lower-status students will be more likely to be found in the lower-cost and lower-status alternatives (Pellegrin, 1974a: 32), this development will tend to enable employers to discriminate in favour of students from higher socio-economic origins on the basis of an educational credential with the tacit defence that the credential is related to productivity (Arrow, 1973; Spence, 1973; Karabel, 1972; Bowles, 1974). Thus educated unemployment and under-employment will be more severe among graduates from lower social-class origins than from higher ones.

(3) Developing an alternative educational pattern. There will be strong attempts to change the traditional educational pattern by developing systems of recurrent

education, where students will be encouraged to leave secondary schooling or higher education to return at some future time as they develop new educational needs (Mushkin, 1974; Faure *et al.*, 1972). This effort will be aimed at reducing the present high social demand for education by breaking the traditional educational cycle. Of course, the relative lack of productive work for young persons who leave the educational system will tend to work against their taking the recurrent educational approach seriously. However, it might also be expected that persons in the labour force who undertake recurrent education to obtain new skills will open up positions for jobs entrants during the period of their schooling. In conjunction with this latter possibility, there is increasing provision in Western Europe for creating educational sabbaticals that would permit workers to leave for a specified period of time to study at government expense—generally through the support of a payroll tax (Levine, 1974). This device would also emphasize recurrent education while increasing labour market opportunities for new entrants.

(4) Emphasizing career education. As in the United States, there is an emerging trend to consider the educational system in the context of "career education", an attempt to integrate schooling more closely with the workplace (Grubb and Lazerson, 1975; Esnault and Le Pas, 1974: 165-169). Such an approach would attempt to integrate more closely the worlds of education and work by increasing career guidance on the nature and attributes of existing job positions; increasing the career content of curricula; interspersing periods of work and schooling as part of the regular educational cycle; and providing a more "realistic" understanding of the nature of work and available opportunities. Obviously, an important aspect of this approach is to reduce the "unrealistically high" expectations for high-level careers and to guide students into preparing for the more attainable lower-prestige ones. Already, the French Government has announced a university reform which would increase the influence of the business community on the curriculum and policy of the university in order to improve its career preparation.

All four of these educational reforms would tend to reduce the pressure on the workplace for better jobs, while further stratifying the students in higher education in order to improve the credentialism of the higher-educational system according to social class. A variety of reforms in the workplace are also being initiated in order to mediate the contradiction between education and work. The three general categories are:

(1) Changing the organization of work. Throughout Europe there are increasing attempts to decrease worker turnover, absenteeism, and product quality problems that are emerging, by altering the organization of the workplace. In general, these changes emphasize an increasing role for worker participation either at the level of the governing board (*Mitbestimmung*) or at the shop floor (OECD, *Workers' participation*, 1976; OECD, *Work in a changing industrial*

society, 1975b; Jenkins, 1974). It is expected that such reforms would increase the loyalty of workers to the firm by expanding their direct participation or representation in decision-making as well as by emphasizing their allegiance to fellow-workers through the use of work teams (Blumberg, 1968). There is also an increasing orientation towards horizontal mobility rather than vertical mobility within the firm. Thus, the educational sabbatical approach that was referred to previously does not necessarily prepare persons for higher positions, but it can be interpreted as a job benefit in itself that gives the worker time away from the workplace to pursue his own interests. In the long run we will see increasing attempts to flatten the work hierarchy, with emphasis on horizontal differences in work roles and work rotation, although the success of such changes will obviously depend on the ability of the enterprises to maintain worker discipline and production when the possibilities of upward mobility are reduced in favour of the new organization of increased horizontal mobility (Marglin, 1974).

(2) Increasing the prestige of blue-collar work. A second alteration on the work-side of the relationship is the attempt to reduce the social emphasis on white-collar positions and to raise the social prestige of blue-collar ones. If this is successful, it is expected that many students who might otherwise have sought university education will be content with secondary completion and short-cycle higher education or will even leave secondary school with vocational preparation. Already in France there is a public media campaign to raise the status of the blue-collar worker by emphasizing that he has a craft and produces "real" things that are important to society rather than just dealing with paper.

(3) Providing public jobs. Finally, attempts are likely to be made to provide increasing numbers of jobs in the public sector for the educated unemployed. This is a strategy that has worked historically, as much of the increase in educated labour was absorbed by the public bureaucracies. But it is also an approach that is dependent upon rapid economic growth in order to obtain the public tax revenues that will support such government expansion. With slow economic growth the increases in revenues of the important value-added tax as well as other sales and excise taxes will not provide rapidly increasing yields, and it will be difficult to raise taxes from other sources such as income for the expansion of social services which will provide the additional jobs. Accordingly, the expansion of the public sector to absorb the increases in educated persons will also face intrinsic barriers.

Educational planning in a dialectical framework

Essentially, we have described the process of educational and social change as being dialectical rather than planned or managed. In the initial phases of industrial development the schools emerged to socialize workers for capitalist enterprise, and they changed to meet the changing requirements of monopoly capitalism and state bureaucracy.[1] But in recent years they have diverged somewhat in function as they have increasingly obeyed their own independent dynamics. At some point the dynamic of the school and that of the workplace have deviated to such an extent that the expansion of production and reproduction of relations of production have become increasingly arduous. At this point we can expect an extensive period of educational and workplace reforms in order to pull the educational system back once again into correspondence with the system of production.

As there are "demands" for such reforms by the polity, the educational planner will be laden with a very new agenda of possible changes. That is, under the changing conditions, the limits of educational planning will have become modified in order to permit alterations that would not have succeeded in a previous period. At this point, a very active phase of educational reform will create new tasks for the educational planner. But what is significant is that the tasks will have been stimulated by the changing conditions of the dialectic, and the role of the planner will be essentially logistical in nature rather than instrumental. Paradoxically, the limits of educational planning will have been altered so that those activities which were unattainable previously will now become attainable, while those that were previously attainable might become unattainable.

The dialectical approach provides a way of understanding social change that would seem to have powerful implications for educational planning. It is already being applied to the U.S. experience for obtaining valuable insights into predicting future educational and work reforms,[2] and it has also been useful in explaining the emerging reforms in Western Europe. As a recent analysis of "Organizations: a dialectical view" has suggested:

> A dialectical view is fundamentally committed to the concept of process. The social world is in a continuous state of becoming—social arrangements which seem fixed and permanent are temporary, arbitrary patterns and any observed social pattern is regarded as one among many possibilities. Theoretical attention is focused upon the transformation through which one set of arrangements gives way to another. Dialectical analysis involves a search for fundamental principles which account for the emergence and dissolution of specific social orders (Benson, 1977: 3).

It would seem that this approach will be far more useful in addressing both the potential and limits of educational planning than the more traditional view of "managed" social change. The latter has no predictive value whatsoever, nor does it have any historical basis. Only when the educational planning exercise is placed in its proper perspective will we be able to assess properly its function and performance.

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[1] For a presentation in the U.S. context, see Bowles and Gintis, 1976.

[2] For a detailed discussion of this dialectic and its historical operation with some attempt at empirical validation, see footnote on p. 38.

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Comments

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There are two fundamental questions which need to be considered when describing the new tasks of educational planning. The first one is to determine the relationship between the educational system and the social system as a whole, and more specifically to determine the role played by education in changing this system. The second question, which is in fact linked to the first, is to understand the way in which the educational system functions, and how the decision-making processes operate within it. Only if we consider these two problems can we reach a better understanding of the role of planning—in other words, how far it can go, and how it can get there.

Levin's paper prompts one to reflect upon these two matters. In actual fact, he provides principally a possible reply to the first question. The historical analysis which is presented in the paper really concerns more the limits of educational development than those of educational planning. It may however be important to make a distinction between the two, in that, in many cases, the direction given to the development of educational systems has not been the result of good planning—far from it. It is not certain that this distinction is of great importance to the author. His prime preoccupation is in fact to show that *in general* the limits to any action in educational development are very narrow, rather than to examine the possible *differences* which may occur, according to whether these actions are more or less well planned. However, one can expect that planners themselves are more concerned with the latter problem.

The central theme developed by Levin concerning the relationships between education and society may be summarized in the following way: every educational system reflects and reproduces the socio-political system in which it operates. The social, economic and political relationships of society determine the nature of the educational system, its functioning and its outcomes. And the author asks: if this description is accurate "how might educational planning and reform modify the nature and functioning of the educational sector to create changes in the functioning of the polity?".

The author confronts this approach with what he calls the ideology of planning, which, according to him, is based on the principle that the main purpose of the educational system is to solve the problems of society, problems of poverty, of oppression and of inequality. We doubt very much whether it is possible to reach a consensus on this definition of the purpose of planning, even if a certain number of proposed reforms have admittedly been based on this false hypothesis. In addition to the educational programmes in the "War on Poverty" campaign in the USA, which have been extensively analysed by the author, we shall only mention in passing the various attempts to implement rural education programmes in developing countries which were supposed to solve the problems of rural development.

However, by arguing in extreme terms, do we not run the risk of placing the planner before an impossible choice, a choice between a model which states that society should be changed by education and another which contends that education is not able to change society at all? While accepting the evidence that society is dominant in relation to the education sector, should we not be more concerned with determining the degrees of freedom which such domination leaves us? Levin is not really interested in this degree of freedom, concerned as he is with the degree of determinism. He concedes however that the educational system may enjoy a certain amount of independence, but he minimizes it immediately by adding that, for the most part, this independence takes the form of teachers' demands for higher salaries and better working conditions. The question of institutional independence is perhaps dealt with somewhat rapidly, considering that this is a crucial issue for the planner, who is above all concerned with determining his margin of action.

We prefer to start from the theory that every social institution enjoys a certain degree of autonomy in relation to its environment and, following its own internal dynamics, can bring about changes within this same environment. The school system is no exception. For instance, the increasingly high level of education in industrialized countries compels industry to find new forms of labour organization in the workplace. To take a more radical example: in Soweto, the grouping of young people in the schools has allowed a political consciousness to develop among students which reacts against the established racist order and which, sooner or later, may well overthrow it.

It thus seems obvious that educational development can produce unforeseen and unintentional outcomes, affecting the social system and forcing it to change. However, the problem probably lies elsewhere. The problem is to know what leverage we have to bring to bear upon *voluntary* change. According to Levin, this leverage is determined by the contradictions arising between educational expansion and the requirements of the dominant social system. He gives as an example the increasing numbers of graduates with continually higher levels of education and ever-rising expectations, outpacing the employment possibilities which are inadequate in terms of both quantity and quality. In his opinion, however, this type of divergence does not seriously question the principle of correspondence which governs the relations between education and employment, and his prediction for the future is that "we can expect an extensive period of educational and workplace reforms in order to pull the educational system back once again into correspondence with the system of production". The author explains that these are logistical measures, or in other words, measures which will not change the existing social system. But what exactly is to be understood by the concept of social change? If we take it to mean the radical transformation of the established order, it becomes clear that no educational reform is capable of deliberately producing such a result. The theory of correspondence is actually transformed into a theory of social determinism, and at the extreme all action is meaningless. If, however, we start with a different conception of change, the correspondence principle opens up real possibilities.

In our opinion, social change is for the most part a progressive rather than radical process. It is a consequence of the tensions and conflicts occurring in society, either between different sectors or within a particular sector. Thus for the sector of education, change can originate from three different types of tension:

(a) tension existing within the educational system, for example certain university reforms concerning administration and teaching methods, resulting from conflicts between teachers and students;

(b) tensions in the relationship between the educational system and another social sector; these are the type of tensions which appear in Levin's model. We could give as an example the "school to the countryside" in Cuba, one of whose purposes is to preclude the contradiction between the development of a bourgeois mentality among youth and the requirements of socialist development;

(c) tensions and changes within a dominant sector which have repercussions on the education sector, for example, the introduction of education for self-reliance in Tanzania, dictated by change in the political sector.

If we accept the principle that the purpose of the educational system is to bring about radical change in the existing social system, none of these reforms is even worth beginning. On the other hand, if we place the ambitions of planning and reform on a more modest level, each of these reforms, even those resulting from tensions inherent to the educational system, can influence the development of society and cause change. The introduction of a more co-operative and less authoritarian style of teaching can result in a change of attitude in the student and in turn produce a worker and a citizen who is more difficult to manipulate.

Every planning effort is indeed an exercise in optimism but also in realism. By showing that the educational system by itself is incapable of solving problems of society, Levin contests a certain ideology of planning but not planning itself. For both the planner and the man of action, a realistic approach means starting from a careful analysis of the situation rather than from preconceived tenets. The origin and nature of the tensions which are apparent should first be analysed, and then possible solutions put forward, as a function of the global social objectives to be aimed for, and after careful analysis of the ever limited possibilities allowed by the dominant social system. These are usual constraints facing any social planning effort. To offer in place of the ideology of social change by education that of socio-economic determinism is to go from one extreme to another, while still remaining within the same line of thought. In reality, social mechanisms are never simple and it would be surprising if they could be understood on the basis of a single explanatory tenet. Every institution enjoys a certain degree of autonomy and, because of this, can be a source of social change, by means of both the unintentional effects it produces and deliberate intervention. The success of such action will depend on the more or less favourable nature of the social environment and of the way in which the man of action manages to turn this to his advantage.

This last remark brings us to examine in greater detail the way in which decision-making functions in education. Such an analysis will enable us to make some observations about the role of planning within this process.

As we mentioned at the beginning, Levin does not really undertake an analysis of this type. In the presentation of the educational sector, he simply shows educational reform and planning as being determined by the polity and by external influences. We believe that this statement needs to be made more explicit. In particular we should examine how decisions are taken within this frame of influences and clarify the relations existing between planning and politics. On this latter point, Levin simplifies things by saying that "usually the educational reforms and planners are not representative of the polity in that their vision of the future society to which educational planning and reform should be addressed is not consonant with the existing characteristics of that society". Does this not attribute somewhat hastily to planners a revolutionary role which they have only very rarely played? We will come back to this point after having outlined how we conceive the decision-making process.

The model we put forward (Figure 1) finds its source in the system of the liberal democracies. It would not be valid for the analysis of the decision-making process in a system of socialist democracy and only partly so in the many systems with more personalized power structures.

We start out from the principle that decisions in liberal democracies are a consequence of a series of pressures and negotiations between various social groups. Some of these groups are stronger than others and some are also better organized. Moreover, some categories of people may belong to several organizations, thus increasing their sphere of influence. Of course, it would be wrong to consider solely the organizations in the political sector. In fact, all sectors of society have their specific system of organizations: apart from purely political parties, there are the trade unions and professional associations of employers, craftsmen, farmers, etc. in the economic sector, and cultural, social, religious, military organizations, etc. It is clear that the position of force of each of these organizations is not the same and the level of mobilization will depend to a very large extent upon the importance and nature of the decisions to be made. Thus, for example, there will be scarcely no reaction from military groups on a decision to change the education structure. However, account should be taken of the fact that certain traditionally neutral issues can become burning issues and attract widespread interest and may even give rise to the creation of a series of new organizations. A recent example of this could be ecological issues. Associations for the protection of the environment have sprung up very rapidly in practically all the industrialized countries and almost all the organized sectors of society have felt, or have felt obliged to be, concerned by the decisions taken in this area. For its part, the education sector was at the end of the 1960s particularly controversial and the interest of all social groups was focused on it. The controversy has cooled down since, although the quite violent reactions to the most recent proposals for educational reform in France, for example, show that education is still potentially a burning issue.

We can expect that in general two types of organizations will have particular weight in the interplay of pressures and negotiations: those organized around the production process, given that this process constitutes the basic element of the social structure; and the political organizations, since it is this sector which is explicitly made responsible for decision-making.

According to this model, decision-making thus takes place within a complex network of power relations between social groups whose interests are in part similar and in part conflicting. The politician who finds himself in power is representative of and backed up by certain of these groups whose interests and global social objectives he supports. However, there will also be a certain gap between his original programme and the decisions he finally takes in so far as he will have to take into account the pressure from other social groups, some of whom are in disagreement with him. The extent of this disjunction will vary according to the

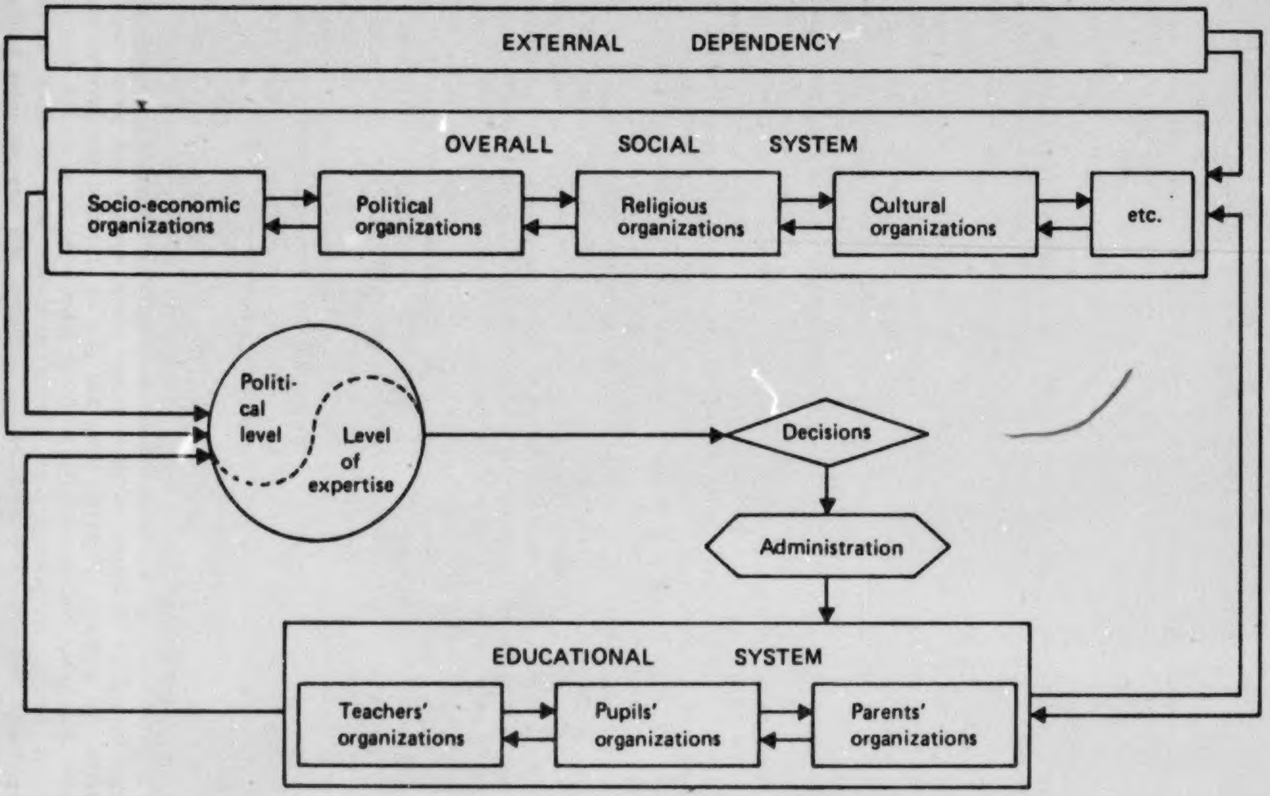
EXTERNAL DEPENDENCY
OVERALL SOCIAL SYSTEM
Socio-economic organizations
Political organizations
Religious organizations
Cultural organizations
etc.
Politi-cal level
Level of expertise
Decisions
Administration
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
Teachers' organizations
Pupils' organizations
Parents' organizations

FIGURE 1. *Socio-political context of decision-making in the educational sector.*

degree of democracy in the society in question and according to the level of political awareness of the citizens and their degree of organization. However, it should be considered that, even if the politician can ignore the pressures exerted by certain groups at the decision-making stage, he may have to take into account their reaction, or their passive resistance, at the implementation stage.

As regards specific decisions concerning a particular institution, special attention should be given to the social associations representing the members of this institution. In the education sector, to be more precise, we have observed, over the past few decades, a phenomenon of mobilization and organization which has altered fundamentally the elements of the decision-making process. On the one hand, teachers who for a long time had an attitude of professionals have adopted a very strong trade-union consciousness and no longer hesitate to resort more and more frequently to striking to assert their points of view. We do not intend to examine in this paper the reasons for this trend, but it would wrong in any case to content ourselves, as Levin does, with the simple statement that they are fighting for their salary just like everyone else. Their behaviour conceals a more profound discontent.

As for the students, the social and political awareness which was first apparent among university-level students is now prevalent among secondary-school students. They too are organized, exert pressure, start strikes and demonstrate in the streets. Here again, the phenomenon can be given various interpretations, but this is certainly a new phenomenon which needs to be taken into account in the decision-making process. As a group, the parents have probably remained the most stable, even although their associations might have a real significance in a certain number of countries. What should be indicated here is that these groups often have close ties with organizations in the overall social system: teachers' unions with the national trade unions, parents' and pupils' associations with the political parties or religious bodies, etc. These ties considerably increase their influence on the power structure.

So far we have described the decision-making process as if it took place within an isolated social system. However, the majority of countries in the world find themselves to a greater or lesser extent in a situation of dependency, which seriously affects their development. In his paper, Levin has sufficiently examined the way in which this state of dependency can influence, directly or indirectly, decision-making, for us not to refer to this point here.

However, we should briefly mention the last feature of this model, which constitutes here a constraint rather than a means of pressure. This is the administrative set-up. In actual fact, decisions taken never reach the groups concerned in a direct way. They are of necessity filtered through the bureaucratic machinery. The bureaucracy is a sub-system in itself with its own norms of functioning, its traditions, internal conflicts and its own interests. There is therefore a strong possibility that after having been filtered through, the initial decisions are more or less modified, if not whittled down. In many countries this disjunction between the decision and its implementation constitutes in itself a crucial administrative problem. The politician cannot disregard this constraint when he comes to taking his decision, since it will directly determine the outcome of his actions and the way in which the social groups concerned will react to them.

Like other models, the one which has just been outlined is an abstract simplification of reality and is far from taking into consideration all aspects of the decision-making process. Its basic usefulness is that it helps us to make explicit the social constraints affecting decision-making and to understand more fully the limits and possibilities of any reform. It also helps us to reach a certain number of conclusions concerning the role played by expertise,[1] and in particular concerning its relations with the political level. What are these conclusions?

First of all, it becomes apparent that decision-making is not an affair between the politician and the expert alone. Society is present throughout the process and exerts an influence upon it. The leeway which the expert is allowed is not accorded arbitrarily by the prince, nor is it defined in an absolute manner by his 'science'. His margin of action is defined socially by the twofold constraint of the interplay of the pressures influencing decision-making and the type of relationship the decision-maker has with the political level.

It also appears that there is no clear-cut line separating the political and expertise levels. From the technocratic point of view, which asserts the apolitical nature of expertise, the relations between the two levels are regulated in the following way: the politician decides on the objectives and the expert then intervenes to plan their implementation, or even better, the expert proposes various possible objectives with their implications, thus allowing the politician to make his choice. In both cases, the expert takes refuge under the cover of his technique, far from socio-political influences. Even if this picture is continually proved wrong in practice, it still remains present in the minds of many experts who often use it as an alibi. The truth is that the expert is not an asocial being. He belongs to and identifies himself with a specific social group, whose interests he serves either implicitly or explicitly. Whether he likes it or not, in his work he is constantly obliged to make assumptions and choices which are necessarily based on value judgements. The rationality of expertise is never socially neutral.

It follows from what has been said that the relations between expert and politician are not as simple as they appear in technocratic ideology. Levin is of the opinion that the two are normally opposed in that the planner is essentially open to change. But does this not imply that the politician's position is *a priori* one of immobility and of *status quo?* Should we not try precisely to avoid replacing the opposition of the irrational politician *vis-à-vis* the rational expert by that of the conservative politician *vis-à-vis* the progressive expert? The world of expertise is certainly as heterogeneous as the political world and it can be assumed that the relations between the two will rarely be that of totally opposed or totally identical viewpoints. The problem is the more general one of determining how the expert can assume the political aspect of his responsibilities. The nature of the question is both practical and at the same time ethical. In our opinion, it is of vital importance and deserves serious consideration. In this discussion, a new phenomenon will have to be considered, which we shall call the social dissemination of expertise. The characteristic feature of the change in the management process in present-day society is an increasing awareness of its implications, which results in a continual diversification in the field of expertise and an increasingly technical approach to the way in which problems are dealt with. The interplay of negotiations, as we have described it in our decision-making model, has not been free from this trend. The language used by pressure groups has adapted itself to that of the decision-maker. It is for this reason that over the last few years research departments have been set up by the major political parties and also on a private basis. So far the latter have worked mainly for the authorities in power, but they could just as well offer their services to any other social organization or association, which is already happening in some cases.

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[1] We prefer to employ the more general term 'expertise', rather than 'planning'. The exact function of the planner would warrant re-definition in the light of the increasing specialization in the world of expertise in general. In this paper we do not touch on this problem, nor on other important problems such as that of the compex relations between different types of experts, with often very different rationalities, or that of the links existing between research, expertise and politics.

If this trend continues, it is clear that it will have a profound influence on the status of expertise and on its role in society.

In conclusion, what we have attempted to do in these comments has been to draw up a frame of reference (influenced to be sure by our own value judgements) for a discussion of the two problems raised by Levin's paper and which we mentioned at the beginning. Clearly this discussion should not by-pass the implications our ideas have for the training of experts. Up till now this has concentrated upon the teaching of skills. If the frame of reference we have outlined is of any value, it is clear that the expert needs not only solid skills but also, and at an equal level, a good understanding of the complex relations between school and society, of the socio-political aspects of decision-making and of the organizational and administrative framework surrounding his work. It is only by means of such an understanding that he will be able to gain an awareness of how his own value judgements influence the job he is doing, to determine his position within the social context and to estimate realistically the limits to his action. This whole programme of training must be maintained by a social ethical code, which still has to be outlined.

Educational planning in theory and practice

Aimé Damiba

Introduction

As director of an educational planning department since 1972, I have the impression that most of my activity is involved with supplying information on the existing system of education and building up a bank of projects as possible candidates for external assistance—both of which involve a fairly substantial element of "public relations". Does this already provide an answer to those who seek to measure the "distance which separates the conceptual problems of educational planning and the practical priorities facing those in charge of the educational system"?

A. Background

Imagine a small country, covering 270,000 sq. km, with a population of 6 million, locked in the West African Sahel region. Here you have all the necessary ingredients for dependence and under-development.

Being surrounded by land on all sides at one time meant protection from external influences, but nowadays it is a handicap for a country which has been forcibly integrated into an international economic system of unequal exchange. Today, the mere mention of the word Sahel conjures up a vivid image of the disastrous effects of climate on an essentially agricultural economy. Its population—young, numerous, increasing rapidly, subject to all kinds of endemic disease, and 95 per cent illiterate—is described as an asset, but it is an asset which at present mainly benefits the countries to the south which tap this source of manpower, creating a massive exodus of workers.

With an annual average *per capita* income of $70, survival is nothing short of a miracle; the situation is one of progressive deterioration for the vast majority of the population, and the emergence of an urban minority living in an outmoded colonial style.

In fact, the political independence acquired by Upper Volta in 1960 is more symbolic than real. Its growth, such as it is, is extraverted: "impelled by external demand and financed by foreign capital . . . extraverted growth of this kind is growth without development and synonymous with under-development".[1] Politics are conditioned by economics and, despite the turbulence of the various military, trade-union and partisan factions involved, which makes for frequent changes of régime, political life remains fundamentally liberal. The local culture is left without defence in the face of constant pressure from foreign models, relayed via imported mass-consumer goods, the mass media and the schools.[2]

The education system concerns only a small minority—in 1976/77 total enrolment, from the elementary to the university level, amounted to no more than 175,000; it is anti-democratic in the sense that 20 per cent of the state budget is devoted to a very small fraction of the population; it is "a first-class social powder-keg" to the extent that every year it releases into the modern sector of the economy a large number of students for whom no jobs are available, who have no wish to go back to the land and who stand to gain nothing from the stability of the existing social and economic order. And finally, this school system, which was originally designed to fill subordinate posts in a raw-material-producing economy and provide workers and soldiers, lacking any new orientation, continues to operate as before, alienating the population from its own interest and from its own culture.

B. Planning methods in action

Under such conditions, the officials in charge view planning as the long-term solution to the multitude of problems with which they are faced. In actual fact, methods, like fashion, change yet fail to provide any final solution. The story begins with the planning of education in relation to social demand.

With newly-won independence and the enthusiasm aroused by the Addis Ababa Conference (1961), optimism was running high in Africa. In Upper Volta the combination of international aid and the investment in human resources produced a sharp upswing in the numbers attending school; but in all, over seventeen years the primary school attendance rate increased from 6 per cent only to its present level of 13 per cent.

The much talked-about social demand is apparent in towns, where the average number of pupils per class is 74 as against 37 in the country schools. The towns are integrated within the modern sector of the economy and today's schools are geared to this—which means that elsewhere they are completely inappropriate. It is no mere coincidence that the north of the country, the Sahel, has a 4.5 per cent attendance rate whereas stockbreeding, which is the local population's main activity, will in a good year account for 45 per cent of the country's total export earnings.

At a very early stage the Upper Volta authorities realized that the educational system had reached a position of financial stalemate—whence the proposal to make the best use of available resources in order to achieve optimum results.

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1. Samir Amin, *L'Afrique de l'ouest bloquée*. Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1972.
2. Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "L'influence des modèles culturels occidentaux sur les pays africains." Conference, 50th Anniversary of Pax Romana. Fribourg, July 1971.

The government's problem was to find a way of satisfying the right to education by dispensing an educational minimum, at lowest possible cost, and aimed at improving agricultural productivity. A rural education project was devised with the objective of eliminating, within 10 years, ignorance and illiteracy amongst the 14-18 age-group. Had this operation succeeded these young adults, tomorrow's producers, would have acted as the generation to spearhead the historic endeavour to extract rural society from its stagnation and backwardness and set it on the road to progress. The problem of cost was resolved by adopting a 3-year instead of a 6-year period of primary education and by using non-registered teachers with a low level of academic qualification (CEPE)[1] at a fixed salary. Generally speaking, a rural school is only half as costly as a primary school and is more efficient—rural schools in fact engage in productive activity, which finances part of the cost of schooling; what is more, it was estimated that the effective insertion into the agricultural production system of 100,000 youngsters trained in this way would provide an annual return of one billion francs CFA.

Despite being based on valid principles, rural education after ten years of operation had achieved only 19 per cent of its targets in quantitative terms and had become truly discredited in the eyes of the population.

Amongst other things, rural education had not provided any solution to the problem of the exodus of youngsters to the towns and to neighbouring countries, which the traditional system of education in particular tends to encourage. Unemployment in the urban centres is of growing concern, whence the support for a method of educational planning related to manpower requirements.

"Emphasis must be placed on a system relating education and employment, whereby each school-leaver is trained for a specific type of job which will in fact be available to him."[2] This statement by one of the highest-ranking political personalities is a clear expression of the fear of unemployment amongst school-leavers.

In the absence of any structures for planning human resources, the government of Upper Volta requested a French consultant organization (SEDES), as part of the preparation for the Second Plan 1972-76, to draw up an inventory of training resources and manpower requirements in the public and private sectors on the basis of data already available, and then to follow this up with an assessment of manpower requirements by type and level of training for the years 1975 and 1985, with an analysis of how these requirements should be met.

The inventory section of the report is full and comprehensive, whereas in the area of forecast requirements the report tends to be somewhat over-optimistic in its assessment of manpower needs. The training programme drawn up on the basis of this was therefore judged as far too ambitious;[3] it provided for:

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[1] *Certificat d'études primaires élémentaires* (primary school leaving certificate).

[2] Statement by Prime Minister Gérard Kango Ouedraogo in his planning speech.

[3] These forecasts were later revised and reduced by a third.

4,500 with their CEPE in 1973 and 5,000 in 1985
1,200 with their BEPC[1] in 1973 and 1,500 in 1985
321 with their *Baccalauréat* in 1973 and 500 in 1985.

Although it was decided to stabilize enrolment for the duration of the 1972-76 Plan, the following levels were reached in 1976:

CEPE: 7,686 BEPC: 2,020 *Baccalauréat:* 840.

Surveys of a more pragmatic kind carried out by the Ministry of Employment revealed what was already well-known to everybody: that job applications far exceed job offers.

Five training-employment categories were defined corresponding to the A, B, C, D, and E categories used in the civil service; they are based on the following educational qualifications: I. Bachelor's degree or higher; II. *Baccalauréat*; III. BEPC; IV. CEPE; V. Without qualifications. Over the period 1972-76 job applications and job offers were as follows:

Qualification	Applications	Offers (average)	Offers (maximum)
I	630	558	759
II	896	490	756
III	4,936	930	3,095
IV	16,808	2,321	3,633
V	26,629	3,299	4,628
Total	49,899	7,598	12,871

In the present circumstances, where there is over-production by the educational system in relation to the absorption capacity of the very slowly developing modern sector of the economy, there is very little point in planning education in relation to manpower requirements—and particularly since those in authority are unable, for political reasons, either to restrict or even stabilize the growth in the school population.

Without having mastered the problem of numbers, educational planning is now launching into the area of quality. Renovation and innovation have become the watchwords. Curricula certainly needed to be Africanized—in the first place those for history and geography for obvious reasons, after which attention was turned to natural sciences. We are following the universal trend with regard to the exact sciences by making modern mathematics general throughout the system, and we are introducing technology as part of general education. The teaching of French concentrates on the spoken language, employing techniques designed for foreign language instruction. These various activities depend for the most part on external assistance; in particular that provided by France, which has no objection to financing an African system which parallels its own and encourages the spread of the French language.

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[1] *Brevet élémentaire du premier cycle* (lower secondary education certificate).

But basically there has been no significant change in terms of greater access to education or the reduction of costs, or in the relationship between education and the world of work.

These preliminary remarks serve to explain why even the most highly trained African educational planner feels at a loss in this situation; but as soon as he asks himself the basic questions "What kind of education for what kind of society?", "What kind of education for what kind of development?"[1] the perspectives change, techniques take on a new meaning, and their purpose becomes apparent. With regard to perspectives, attention will be concentrated on educational reform in so far as this is the prime concern of educational officials in Africa and, what is more, it is this which is likely to give educational planning its greatest scope. From the point of view of techniques, a description will be given of the system of planning by projects used in Upper Volta. But when planning has to operate within a context of almost complete dependence on outside financial aid, does it not lose all meaning?

I. Educational reform and educational planning

First the well or the dam, then the dispensary, and thirdly the school—this is the usual order of priority for the requests submitted by a village community to the authorities. For the President of the Republic, when drawing up guidelines for the next Plan, top priority should be given to rural development, followed closely by education. But there had first of all to be an end to the disastrous climatic conditions in the Sahel region, and international aid had to save human and animal lives, before an international seminar could be held in Ouagadougou in 1976 on the theme of "What kind of school for the Sahel?" Would these facts not seem to indicate that education and its reform is ranked as a secondary priority? It would be difficult to prove this because all problems are urgent in developing countries and education appears both as the cause and the consequence of this state of affairs.

A. *Educational reform in Africa*[2]

No reference will be made here to cases where the debate on educational reform is used either by those in power as a means of keeping the masses quiet or by various pressure groups as a remedy for all of society's ills. Generally speaking, all the African States are intent on a sincere search for a new style of education suited to their needs.

Through the various international conferences, and in particular those organized by Unesco, one is beginning to see increasingly precise and increasingly convergent guidelines and proposals emerging with regard to African education: e.g., such themes as a closer relationship between the school and local community life, the integration of education and development, the introduction of socially and economically productive work into the school, the community school, the community development school, the strengthening of African cultural identity, the use of the vernacular in teaching, etc.

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[1] J. Hallak, *A qui profite l'école?*, Paris, P.U.F., 1975 (p. 196).

[2] Cf. Report from the Conference of Education Ministers from African Member States, Lagos, 1976.

When the educational planner, armed with these principles, sets out to see how they should be applied in the context of his own country, what does he find?

All these ideas have an underlying ideological conception with regard to the structure of society and the nature of man. The introduction of productive work into schools is conceivable in a society where work is not merely a service rendered to a development corporation. The community development school is ill-suited to a rigidly structured society where there is no real sharing of power on a democratic basis. The use of local languages for teaching supposes a national environment free from any external domination exercised through the so-called languages of international communication. The integration of education and development assumes that this development should be something other than an increase in consumer goods, unequally apportioned, within a system based on maximum profit for the individual.

Each country must be free to apply these ideas as it thinks fit and independently of any external models. However, those African countries which have made steps in this direction, doubtlessly encountering many difficulties but also with some measure of success, all have something in common with regard to their basic political orientation—they all claim to be "socialist". What is more, to find convincing examples of all these ideas one needs to visit and study the educational systems in socialist countries.

Upper Volta is currently putting into operation a reform whose main features are inspired by three fundamental conclusions:

1. The low level of school enrolment, which reflects the marginal character of education in Upper Volta and converts it into a minority privilege, means that a system of mass education has to be devised and organized.
2. The relationship between a person's productivity and his level of education and training is so obvious as to make it essential to link education and employment in order to escape from the vicious circle whereby a country which is too poor cannot afford a system of mass education and, in turn, an ignorant and illiterate population is not capable of producing enough to ensure its own development.
3. Since education constitutes a means for creating a Voltaic nation, based on its own cultural traditions, the vernacular languages should form the fundamental vectors for this cultural rebirth.

Consequently, this reform has three objectives:

First objective: the democratization of knowledge by educating the masses through schools and programmes to eliminate illiteracy. This will be achieved by raising the level of enrolment in basic education to 50 per cent for both sexes during the period 1977-87 and by implementing a national programme for the total elimination of illiteracy.

Second objective: the integration of education and production, by aligning the training for middle and upper supervisory grades with the requirements of the modern, urban and rural sectors of the economy and by introducing genuine productive activities within educational and training establishments as a means for financing their expenditure on equipment.

Third objective: to ensure the development of an authentic culture by:

- the genuine use as instructional language at the basic education level of at least three national languages, i.e. Mossi, Dioula and Peuhl—without necessarily excluding other representative languages;
- the regionalization (but not the tribalization) of educational development;
- the creation of scientific, cultural and artistic research groups within each educational and training establishment.

Is the nation ripe for such a reform? In Upper Volta the opinion most commonly held is that this proposal for educational reform in its present shape amounts to a "socialist" project within a liberal context and that consequently the reform is doomed to failure unless it is to be accompanied by political change.

In fact, in present-day Africa the general development of reform ideology places the educational planner amongst the advocates of a new society with "socialist" tendencies. Within the pluralistic context of Upper Volta, the educational planner and all those involved in educational reform are looked upon as militants for a partisan cause, despite the fact that their aim is, above all, to bring about a form of rational progress.

B. Planning educational reform

Planning begins with a choice of objectives. Any action in the area of educational objectives is an action affecting society at its base, and this is why everybody admits that the task of determining the objectives of education, particularly in former colonial countries which need to construct a national system of education genuinely suited to their development needs, is one which should be left to the highest political authority.

In accordance with this principle, the educational planner should wait until these political decisions are communicated to him before he begins his work.

In a certain number of cases, in fact, as a result of a thoroughgoing political revolution, the educational planner finds himself from the outset armed with a series of guidelines drawn from the victorious revolutionary ideology. Thus, he has merely to envisage possible alternative strategies for achieving the objectives laid down. This, however, is far from being the case for all planners in all those African countries where today there is talk of reforming education.

In Upper Volta the planning department has been obliged to set in motion a programme of information, persuasion and participation with a view to defining new objectives for education.

At the outset, all of education's top officials had to be won over to the idea of reform, by persuading them to carry out an analysis of the problems of education in Upper Volta, to find out about reforms being applied in other parts of Africa, and to put forward proposals for the reform of the educational system in their own country. To this end, national seminars, fact-finding missions and special courses were organized. Those who took part in these activities began to realize the complexity of such a reform operation, the length of time involved, the importance of the decisions to be taken at a political level, the energy required to mobilize and guide public opinion and, lastly, their own responsibilities as members of the Ministry's decision-making staff.

To make this reform into a task of national construction along democratic lines, ways and means for involving the population had to be envisaged from the earliest phase of defining needs. In order to do this the educational planning department drew up a programme for informing and mobilizing public opinion, which included a survey on education plus seminars and discussion groups.

The Minister of Education, when he decided upon this survey on education, had the following objective in mind: "To make the public aware of the problems of education in order to stimulate creative thinking . . . my intention is that this survey should inform the population about the nature of these educational problems and that it should reveal the most widely held opinions regarding the need for reform and the kind of reform required."

A statement of this nature clearly indicated the absence of any precise programme in the sphere of education, either on the part of the government or on the part of the majority party in power. It marked a desire to consult all sections of opinion within the parties, trade unions and various associations.[1] Thus, this reform was launched at a time when the political climate was far from being one of unanimity and cohesion.

In November and December 1973 the planning department conducted a national survey on education which had no pretensions to being scientific—it was an attempt to give both the literate as well as the illiterate population the opportunity to express their views on education. In the case of the literate population written questionnaires were used, of which over 6,000 were completed and returned. In the case of the illiterate population, interviewers organized group discussions which were recorded on tape—in all 40 group discussions were held in different villages, each lasting at least one hour. The topics covered in these group discussions were as follows: the difference between primary education and rural education; the introduction of practical subjects and manual activities into the curriculum and the use of farmers and craftsmen to teach these; the use of vernacular languages in teaching; adult literacy programmes, other sundry needs, etc.

Whilst the planning department's staff were carrying out the fieldwork, the heads of the various teaching bodies were summoned to conferences on education held in the major towns throughout the country.

This entire operation was based on the conviction that the first step in any form of participation is the expression and communication of viewpoints and ideas—despite the sceptics who wondered what one could expect to get out of illiterate peasants.

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[1] This occurred during a period of civil government, 1971-74, when there was a multiplicity of parties—seven in all, of which three were represented in the National Assembly.

Although this survey was a large-scale opinion poll, it was necessary to take it a stage further by persuading various groups and organizations to take a greater part in the process of reform. Meetings and discussions on educational reform were promoted and organized on a systematic basis for women's organizations, youth organizations, parent-teacher associations and trade unions. The procedure involved three phases: phase 1—general information on the education system in Upper Volta and on reforms under way in Africa; phase 2—formation of study groups to analyse education in Upper Volta in its economic and social context and to put forward possible solutions; phase 3—full meeting, discussion of the various solutions proposed.

The results of all of this work were gathered together in the form of a document which was submitted to the Minister of National Education as a contribution to the task of preparing the educational reform.

On the basis of these initial consultations the educational planning department drew up a document entitled "Educational Reform—Preliminary Report". This was an initial attempt to summarize the various opinions in favour of a new form of education. This would need to be a form of mass education involving every member of a local community, rural village or urban district. If this educational activity is developed simultaneously and in a co-ordinated manner for all the clientèles concerned, then the overall level of knowledge and skills within these basic social groups will progress and, in this sense, they will become genuine "learning societies".[1] This mass education would involve two corollaries: the use of vernacular languages for teaching, and the integration of education and employment.

The preliminary report leaves open a certain number of questions which merit more thorough discussion in view of their importance, e.g., what is the political, economic and social framework in which this reform can and must be carried through? Does the proposal to use three instructional languages at the outset constitute a move towards a single national language or does it imply the adoption of multi-lingualism?

The preliminary report suggests a regional approach to educational development as the inevitable consequence of the need to link education and development, use vernacular languages and integrate education within the social environment. In a context where tribalism represents a latent danger, is an approach of this kind compatible with a policy for national unity?

This preliminary report, which is at present circulating in Upper Volta, provides a more solid base for discussion and puts some of the problems into a clearer perspective so that the debate can get to the heart of the matter.

Another important phase will be the preparation of a second report, this time destined for the government to enable it to decide its political options.

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[1] Edgar Faure, *Learning to be*. Paris, Unesco, 1975.

At this stage, the present movement from the base to the summit will be reversed to return from the summit to the base when the government submits for public approval its initial recommendations in the area of educational reform.

It would seem obvious that the definition of objectives, in particular in the context of a fundamental reform of education, is a political operation. Without constant pressure from the powers that be, the whole process of consultation and the mobilization of opinion could never be brought to a successful conclusion. The planner who sees himself as no more than a technician suddenly finds himself involved in political activity where he is out of his depth. In a pluralistic environment as in Upper Volta, public opinion tends to see the planner simply as a party worker with the task of justifying current policy,[1] or compiling dossiers for the day when another faction (the one he belongs to) will be in power. The planner can choose to ignore this political dimension of his activity—a reaction which is somewhat like that of the ostrich and which places him, in his own country, in the position of a foreign "technical assistant" who does what he is told. In such cases educational planning limits itself to its minimum functions, i.e., the gathering of data on the educational system and making these available to every potential user. But if one wants educational planning to be a source of new ideas whose "perpetual outpouring should nourish every process of educational reform", does not the planner have to make a choice?

The educational planner, more than any other government official, finds himself in this kind of situation. Above all when he is working in the context of an educational reform, he is in fact obliged to see the problems in terms of a future society and a new category of individual to be trained and, as we have seen, educational reform in Africa derives its substance from increasingly convergent sources which cannot be ignored.

Such statements would tend to make us believe that the planner is a man with divided loyalties or that the planning services need to be replaced with every change of government. To believe this is to believe that the planner and the planning services are entrusted with political responsibility—which is however not the case.

It is quite possible that the planner could be required to work within the context of a global philosophy and apply decisions which have been imposed upon him and which he does not agree with. Even in such cases, and even more so in the case of societies where democratic processes apply, it is always possible for the planner to propose alternative solutions whilst being fully aware of the fact that the decision is not his to make. His sole source of consolation is the intellectual honesty of such an attitude which, at the same time, helps to safeguard the reputation of educational planning which, in the last resort, can fall back on its minimum activity and on the apparent neutrality of certain techniques such as planning by projects.

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[1] Hallak, op. cit., p. 256.

II. Project-based planning and educational planning

Every senior government official in Upper Volta nourishes the ambition of working in an agency or for a project. For the most part these are semi-government bodies, financially independent and heavily subsidized by outside aid; they stand out as islands of energy and innovation in a sea of sterility and stagnation. When referring to our development we quote a series of projects, e.g., the Volta Valleys Development Project—a scheme for creating new settlements along the banks of the country's three main rivers, which are areas at present too unhealthy for human habitation; the Tambao Project—exploitation of manganese deposits in the north of the country; the National Agency for Dams and Irrigation—for dealing with the problem of water resources; the National Livestock Development Agency—for the development of stockbreeding; the West Volta Cotton Project; the Banfora Sugar Project; and there are even educational projects . . . and the forest of initials grows thicker, hiding the absence of any well-defined development objectives.

In the preceding section we saw how the process of educational reform was an effort to define global objectives for a society in search of its own identity. According to the theory whereby educational planning should be integrated within overall economic and social planning, this phase of defining objectives should be a joint activity involving all sectors of national life in the effort of planning a better future. Only when this has been done can one tackle the planning phase, involving the ranking of priorities, and then, last of all, the programming phase to convert these objectives into operational projects. "Long-term perspective, planning and programming are different aspects of a single process of thought and action . . . (which) are at different levels and therefore different in nature."[1] At one extreme, politics predominate; at the other, technology. To follow this line of argument (which is the most obvious one for education) is to operate a system of "planning by objectives". Upper Volta, which is in the process of preparing its Third Plan, prefers the term "planning by projects".

A. The preparation of the Plan in Upper Volta

In their present form, the Plans for Upper Volta abstain from any definition of basic objectives and treat educational reform as one of a series of projects.

The procedure laid down for the preparation of the 1972-76 Plan is an illustration of this. The same method is to be adopted for the next plan: it was decreed that "the second outline Plan will be a Plan composed of projects whose overall coherence will be determined in the light of the basic objectives and guidelines. It will be a Five-Year Plan but is subject to revision during that period".[2]

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[1] *Educational planning: a world survey of problems and prospects.* Paris, Unesco, 1970.

[2] Decree No. 71/019/PM/PL defining the procedure for preparing the second outline Plan for economic and social development 1972-76.

What this amounts to therefore is a very simple form of outline programme. The first step is to identify projects sector by sector and then to amalgamate these into a coherent whole. But who is to establish this coherence and who will provide the guiding principles? The decree quoted above laying down the procedure for preparing the next Plan puts forward some tentative suggestions as to the economic and social objectives which the experts should use as guidelines in preparing projects:

— the development of agricultural production should have as its objective to supply the population's food requirements (fruit and vegetables) and provide farmers with a source of cash income (market crops),
— particular emphasis should be given to stockbreeding, as well as to irrigated farming and the reclamation of swampland,
— a policy for the utilization of water resources should be drawn up and implemented,
— an efficient system for marketing agricultural and livestock products should be devised, tested and put into operation,
— mining activities should be extended via a systematic survey of resources and the creation of extraction facilities,
— efforts to convert local products into industrial products should be continued either with a view to their replacing imported goods or for export,
— transport and communication infrastructures should be maintained and improved and tourist accommodation and facilities developed,
— every effort should be made to improve the nation's health,
— particular emphasis should be placed on the planning of human resources,
— in the educational area, a thoroughgoing analysis should be made as to the feasibility of setting up a university in Upper Volta and a target date set for its completion,
— the sum total of recurrent expenditure to be financed out of the national budget as the result of these projects should not exceed the capital surplus available each year,
— the improvement in the effective absorption capacity of the Upper Volta economy should be maintained with a view to increasing the rate of growth in investments.

Each department prepared the projects for its sector on this basis. The Ministry of Education submitted a total of twenty-seven projects to the co-ordinating body at the Planning Ministry. An initial screening takes place at the level of the social planning committee, which is responsible for assessing projects affecting the social sectors: health, education, social affairs, employment, government service, youth and sport. An initial harmonization is supposed to be carried out at this level. A second review procedure takes place at the level of the national planning committee, where every sector is represented. In practice, the basic criterion for accepting or rejecting a project has been the likelihood of its qualifying for some form of finance. Two project lists were drawn up: a list of projects with a fairly certain source of finance and included in the Plan, plus an optional list of projects which could be included in the first group as soon as a means for financing them was found. In all likelihood the political authorities followed the same procedure since, with very few exceptions, the proposals drawn up by the government departments were approved. One such exception, however, was the opposition's sharp criticism of the Ministry of National Education, which it accused of having assembled a large number of projects whilst forgetting the most essential—the reform of the educational system.

In fact, it could scarcely have been otherwise, since the process of preparing the Plan is primarily in the hands of technicians to whom no precise directives have been given. In drawing up the Plan no provision is made for involving the public, as was envisaged in the case of the educational reform. This is perhaps deliberate—the 1972-76 Plan was in fact prepared by a civilian government formed by the political party which had won a majority in the December 1970 elections. This government's fundamentally liberal and capitalist tendencies explain its preference for a loose form of planning and the absence of any search for new objectives. How is it possible therefore to explain the existence of a process of educational reform which began under this same régime with the implementation of the Plan? It is in fact the result of the contradictions which exist in a pluralistic society.

There is a current of opinion in favour of educational reform and this can be demonstrated and organized in a variety of ways until such time as the measures have to be taken once and for all. The overall planning process and the process of educational reform can be seen as two parallel processes on different levels. The economic and social planner plans on a five-year basis, he speaks in terms of concrete things, he talks of projects, of budgets, of quantitative targets to be achieved. The educational planner plans for a period of ten years or more, the terms he uses of a more philosophic kind, the questions he asks himself concern the form of future society, the nature of future man, the most desirable form of development. No one denies the value of such reflections, but in the meantime educational reform is a project like any other within the framework of an overall project-based planning programme.

The educational planner must push ahead with the "project for educational reform". This involves slipping in amongst the list of projects earmarked for the planning period a series of innovative educational projects which will pave the way for a reform of the educational system. In this manner, nine projects aimed at reforming the system of education have already been submitted for inclusion in the next Plan. These projects concern the setting up of facilities for research and curriculum development, particularly in the vernacular languages, the launching of experimental programmes concerned with linking education and employment, the development of new teaching equipment, and the adoption of new methods for the basic and in-service training of teachers. Currently, none of these projects raises any problem of principle—the problem is above all one of finance. The cost for all nine of these projects is currently estimated to be in excess of 7 billion francs CFA. Will Upper Volta be able to find such an amount for investment in education alone over the next five years?

B. Planning and financial constraints

The primary concern of education officials in Upper Volta is the reform of the educational system—a problem which is essentially of a political kind. But they have a subject of equal concern: the financing of education and its reform—a problem which is essentially of a material kind.

The 1972-76 Plan required a total expenditure in the region of 63 billion francs CFA. Out of this total, 21 per cent was expected to be provided out of the national budget, 5 per cent from private sources, and 74 per cent in the form of external assistance. The importance of this external aid explains why planning in Upper Volta has to be flexible. It has two consequences: firstly, from the technical point of view planning becomes an exercise concerned with the identification of projects; and secondly, national objectives have to be subordinated to external political considerations.

It goes without saying that in Upper Volta there are schools to be built, teachers to be trained, curricula to be evaluated and revised and teaching equipment to be provided. And yet not a month goes by without the educational planning department receiving a visit from a mission of experts entrusted with the task of identifying projects in the area of education and training; the international agencies even complain of the lack of projects requiring finance, of local officials' inability to draw up projects, etc.

The identification of projects in the area of education and training—what exactly is meant by this?

Usually it all begins with a letter couched in the following terms: "Mr. X, a specialist in . . ., will be spending this month on mission in West Africa. This mission could provide the occasion for Mr. X to meet with officials in your country with a view to identifying projects in the area of education and training—projects which could subsequently be submitted to the various sources of finance . . ."

The mission arrives and pays a rapid courtesy visit to the Minister. The local experts, and in particular those from the planning department, gather together the available information, organize discussions and field-trips. Then the mission leaves, promising a report within three months.

When the report arrives (which does not happen in every case) the local officials are frequently highly amused to discover that it consists of a digest of documents written by themselves, accompanied by general conclusions which recommend further, longer study trips by other experts in the style: "the first requirement is to make funds available for maintaining and repairing existing buildings . . . some existing buildings need to be modified . . . a general study of building design should be carried out . . . a simple, stoutly built, type of furniture is required, scarcely more expensive but more serviceable than that made out of cob . . . All these studies should be carried out concurrently and would probably amount to 2-3 expert-years".

This parody of the expert mission should however deceive no one into believing that the identification of projects in the area of education and training is a simple operation. It is not difficult to devise projects which merely repeat those already in existence, but it is an entirely different matter to devise innovative projects. This involves carrying out an analysis of the educational system and its operation in order to highlight certain of the problems, e.g., the bottlenecks and areas where there is a conflict with the economic and social environment for which remedial action is proposed. For example, the education system in Upper Volta works in such a way that 25 per cent of those enrolled are repeating a grade—analysing the reasons for this and recommending a series of co-ordinated measures to make promotion practically automatic is already a project, but of the kind which merely serves as a prop for a system in decline. However, increasingly the tendency is to look for projects which will provide a global alternative to existing systems, because analysis has demonstrated how ineffective such temporary expedients are. In such circumstances, the identification of projects requires a broad knowledge of a variety of different situations which the local planning official may well not possess. This lack of experience becomes even more of a handicap when educational planning is not firmly rooted in reality and when it tends to be more of a research office activity than an action emerging from within the system of education and training. If the dangerous solitude of the ivory tower is to be avoided, educational planning has to be a shared responsibility involving a two-way flow between the so-called "planning office" and those in charge in the field. Every planner must be hooked up to a network of institutions and experts in the area of reform so that there can be a continuous exchange of information and experience to inspire and guide his activity. There is little doubt that insufficient mastery of planning techniques on the part of local officials and the problems encountered in setting up multi-disciplinary teams to study integrated projects are often the reason for resorting to missions of experts to help in project identification. But, what is more, it would seem that national planning services need to organize themselves so that they can perform the task of preparing project dossiers for submission to external aid agencies, particularly in cases where planning is based on projects, as in Upper Volta. Once this has been achieved, it will represent a marked improvement over the present situation, where the country is in fact obliged to accept objectives imposed from outside.

Almost all outside aid is funnelled through projects. Everyone is aware that bilateral aid is not without its political implications; what is more, multilateral aid is restricted with regard to its area of application and operates in accordance with a series of principles, methods and techniques which, in the main, are respected by a system of project-based planning, particularly when such projects have been identified and drawn up by a mission of experts. The local planner's involvement is minimal for several reasons. Aid agencies have strict rules of operation, they favour certain techniques and impose standard presentations with which the local planner is not always familiar. Then there is the problem of availability—the local planner is rarely able to devote himself exclusively to one task for a period of anything from one to three months without being called away to deal with other tasks which are equally urgent. There is also the question of confidence—can the local expert be expected to be objective?

For all of these reasons, the local planner's role is restricted to that of providing data on his country and its system of education. At most, he may participate in the preliminary discussions with regard to the direction the study should take and perhaps assist in the assessment of the preliminary findings.

The aid agencies' interest in planning of a project-based kind stems from the fact that this enables them to define clearly the scope of their intervention in an overall national programme and effectively monitor progress in their particular sector. Despite this, outside aid agencies tend to hang back where education is concerned. Education is the crucial area, and this is sufficient to cause them to hesitate.

For some agencies, there is no question of their becoming involved in a system of education of French inspiration in a country which is not actively engaged in diversifying its relations with the outside world. For others, it is a question of waiting until such reform actually takes place—there is no question of shoring up a system of education which is condemned from the outset. And finally, there is the economic argument—in the case of countries in the Sahel region, drought provides strong alibis for a lack of concern with regard to education. One such alibi is that education should be integrated within development projects.

According to this theory, all development projects should contain an educational ingredient. For many this is a question of making provision within development projects for training the staff required for their operation. But this global concept of development can be taken even further. Even if a project is designed to increase the material welfare of a community at a certain rate, consideration should also be given to the corresponding quality of life which should accompany this material progress—and in this respect, education has a role to play. But it is difficult to see how an educational planning service can gain acceptance for these views when development projects are evolved in assemblies to which it is not invited.

There are, however, some fortunate instances of integrated development projects. In the case of a particular region, all the factors may be taken into account—industry, health, education, infrastructures, etc., and it is certain that a co-ordinated effort in all of these areas would bring about a general improvement in the region concerned. However, when this carefully integrated project is submitted to the various sources of finance, each begins by considering not the integrated character of the project but only the sector which falls within the scope of its traditional policy of assistance. One agency will concern itself with infrastructures (roads) and nothing else, another wants to finance only the medical equipment aspect, a third will provide assistance in developing the production of cotton but of no other crop. Gradually the integrated project disintegrates in the hands of those involved in financing it, with each agency setting up its own timetable of operations. Some parts of the programme in fact will not even find backers—generally those concerning education.

Conclusions

This analysis has highlighted the serious obstacles facing educational development in Upper Volta. In terms of numbers, the present system is incapable of providing mass education; from a qualitative point of view, education is part of a system which is a neo-colonial survival designed for exploiting and alienating the masses. Faced with a concrete situation such as this, the techniques of educational planning can analyse the problems but not solve them.

The solutions are not technical but political, and this is why those responsible for the systems of education regard educational reform as the priority of priorities. It forms part of an overall complex of problems of development and the improvement of human resources within a political context designed to achieve man's fulfilment through the progressive satisfaction of his primary wants.

Educational reforms in Africa, whilst they reflect the specific conditions in each country, unite in the search for a form of education integrated within the life of the community; this integration, which embodies such concepts as the use of vernacular languages in teaching and the relating of education and employment, will enable education to play a greater role not only in the overall process of development but also in the assertion of cultural identity.

Educational planning finds its full scope in the process of educational reform, which calls for all the techniques of quantitative, qualitative and participatory planning at the national and subnational level in a series of ordered phases which range from the definition of objectives through to their implementation in the form of projects. Sectoral planning (which is what educational planning is), when it is directed towards reform, attains the highest expression in terms of procedure and methods which should be those of all fundamental economic and social planning. Unfortunately, in the case of Upper Volta, such heights have not been achieved.

Planning by projects has proved very efficient with regard to the definition of basic objectives, since this process amounts to a continuation of the methods of former (i.e., colonial) times. In these conditions, educational reform is a project like any other, to be sold to a source of outside aid.

In fact, the major obstacle to planning in developing countries is the lack of national resources to carry out the Plan. When outside aid has to supply 74 per cent of the finances required, planning becomes meaningless and is reduced to a matter of preparing dossiers for potential donors and participating in a series of negotiations where the money obtained bears no relationship to what is lost in terms of independence and coherent national policy. Project-based planning enables each external aid agency to define the limits of its operations in accordance with its standard policy of intervention and to employ its own methods and techniques without interference—to the extent that a project can become a state within the state. A situation of this kind is scarcely conducive to a fundamental reform of education.

One can appreciate that those in charge of educational systems in Africa are torn between conflicting desires. On the one hand, they are eager to carry out a truly national reform as part of an overall solution to development problems whilst, on the other hand, they are handicapped by a social and political environment which is slow to change and by a lack of resources. The situation would be completely paralysing were it not for the fact that educational reform is, whatever the process involved, in itself an autogenous educational process for society. To this extent, educational reform is part of the movement towards some form of social change which is taking place within the recently independent states.

To put educational planning in this perspective is to give it another dimension. The traditional tasks such as liaison between the Ministry of Education and the other sectors, assembling and distributing statistical data, rationalizing the location of schools and educational facilities, etc., are still essential. But the priority need for reform and the problem of resources means giving greater emphasis on the one hand to problems of policy and strategy and, on the other hand, to a more effective search for sources of finance. The outcome is a series of new tasks such as the evaluation of educational and training activity and the identification of innovative projects with the help of local multi-disciplinary teams.

An undertaking of this kind cannot hope to succeed unless planning ceases to be merely a discipline or a form of research and becomes, at the national level, an activity of a militant kind operating at the most crucial points of the educational system.

Comments

Ratchik Avakov, IIEP

In this document Damiba sets out to describe an actual situation—the case of Upper Volta—but his analysis and conclusions apply to a far wider context and touch on what are, as it were, the root problems of educational planning in theory and practice. Many of the obstacles facing the educational system in Upper Volta are in fact not confined only to this country. Many developing countries, in particular those in Africa, are labouring under a similar burden in their daily work, in their attempts to solve the problems created by growth in the socio-economic demand for education and in their search for a suitable educational development model corresponding with their long-term national objectives.

Damiba's document therefore provides a solid base for a fruitful discussion on the major problems of educational planning affecting developing countries.

1. First of all, the *international context* in which the educational system and, in particular, the planning process is situated to a large extent conditions socio-economic, political and cultural progress within these countries. What this implies in fact is the degree of dependence, and, in the case of education, this means the degree of subservience to foreign models and to a form of development which is financed for the most part from external funds.

This methodological approach enables the author to present the problem of educational planning as it exists today, in all of its dimensions and in all of its gravity, and to ask the fundamental question: "But when planning has to operate within a context of almost complete dependence on outside financial aid, does it not lose all meaning?" Thus the logic of his analysis justifies the author's linking planning with the international factors involved in national development, with the country's foreign policy and with the problem of its independence. Faced with such constraints on an international level "planning becomes meaningless and is reduced to a matter of preparing dossiers for potential donors and participating in a series of negotiations where the money obtained bears no relationship to what is lost in terms of independence and coherent national policy" or alternatively "national objectives have to be subordinated to external political considerations".

This approach merits detailed examination. Planning in fact does not take place in just any environment. For it to be realistic, it needs objective conditions at the national and international level. In the last analysis, it is these objectives which determine the content of the planning, its scope and its limits, and also its effectiveness.

In this connection, two series of questions arise:

a. Planning with regard to external constraints, in particular that of financing education; the functions, tasks and responsibilities of the planning organization in an international context of this kind.

b. The attitude of funding organizations and aid agencies for education in the developing countries. Is it possible to plan external financial aid at the national level and in the light of national requirements?

2. *The national context.* It is obvious that planning on its own is not capable of providing a practical solution to the difficulties created by the external factors in educational development and thereby helping the country to extricate itself from a position of dependence. Thus it would be grossly over-optimistic to think of the machinery of planning as a prime means for solving the development problems of the national education system—for the simple reason that this machinery is in fact no more than a product of a society which itself is developing in an international context. It is by acting upon the social system and through the profound changes which are required in this, that planning would discover its true role in the process of development. The "complexion" of planning, its importance and its effectiveness will be a reflection of society, in other words of its socio-political and cultural patterns, its mode of social production and the relationships within it.

None the less, the planning process enjoys a certain degree of autonomy and has its strong points as well as its weaknesses and shortcomings. In other words, it would be wrong to "exempt" planning from all responsibility for the bad or good functioning of the educational system by laying all the ills and negative results at society's door. Everyone is aware of the fact that successful achievement of the objectives laid down in a plan largely depends on the planner, the quality of his work and his political philosophy. Yet one must avoid the opposite extreme, where planning is blamed each time there is a failure.

Why should planning techniques prove so ineffective when faced with the multitude of problems raised by education? Is it the result of bad planning that the educational system in Upper Volta and in many other developing countries remains the privilege of a minority? Is it, for example, overproduction by the educational system in relation to the absorption capacity of the very slowly developing modern sector of the economy which makes planning education in relation to manpower requirements such an ineffective exercise? The real reason goes much deeper and it is not solely the choice of planning techniques which is involved. Does not the author himself emphasize that solutions to education problems are not technical but political? What is more, what sort of planning (and for what type of education) can one expect from a social system which "is a neo-colonial survival"?

3. *Planning, reform and educational policy.* What are the relationships between these three elements of the educational system? This is by no means an academic question. It goes right to the heart of the matter.

Damiba's document does not set out to define the concepts of "planning", "reform" and "educational policy." He recognizes the need to draw a distinction between these processes and, on the basis of this distinction, he analyses the nature and types of reciprocal links existing between them in the case of Upper Volta.

The series of questions for discussion could be summed up as follows: "define for the sake of clarity, but with the aim of understanding them, the relationships linking different elements in a system of educational development". The discussion could cover the following aspects of the problem:

(a) The tasks of educational planning: how can the two approaches—the rational and the political—be linked in the process of planning? Planning of course is based on whatever objectives have been laid down, but Damiba rightly emphasizes the other aspect of this problem, i.e., "the task of determining the objectives of education, particularly in former colonial countries . . . is one which should be left to the highest political authority".

This does not mean that planning should be a passive and neutral instrument awaiting the guiding hand of the political authority. Planning has a strong political bias and consequently this means that any change in the socio-political régime will have repercussions on the planner's responsibilities and activities.

(b) The role of planning in implementing educational reform. The fact that such reform is the prime concern of educational policy in developing countries gives a new dimension and considerable political responsibility to planning. The planner's intervention would seem essential at every stage in the elaboration and above all in the implementation of the objectives set out in the reform.

(c) A reform, however important, is nevertheless not a policy. It would be unfortunate if it were to be regarded as a permanent process whereby once one reform is completed this must be followed by another. It is policy which should provide the continuity.

4. *Planning by projects.* The choice of a planning technique is not something to be left to chance. For this procedure to be scientific means that this choice has to be based on criteria decided in the light of the nature of what has to be planned and the stated objectives to be achieved. It is not therefore a question of preference or personal taste. Prior to drawing up any plan, some thought has to be given to the planning technique required for a given situation.

Having said this, these facts must be borne in mind if one is to position the analysis of the so-called "planning by projects" technique in its rightful place in the context of educational planning—a task to which Damiba (quite rightly) devotes particular attention in his document.

A number of developing countries use this method in drawing up their national plans. This is a fact therefore which one cannot ignore. The question is why choose this method? Is it dictated by the socio-economic and political conditions in developing countries? And finally, what conclusions can be drawn from the results so far obtained?

First of all, the practical side of the question. In this connection the experience of Upper Volta described by Damiba is very significant. The projects selected for implementation by the external aid agencies are not as a general rule integrated within the national plan. It is more a case of their being imposed and imposing models which do not correspond either with the specific cultural characteristics of the population or with the need to set up a new educational system suited to the country's socio-economic and cultural environment. The author's conclusion is very explicit: "Project-based planning enables each external aid agency to define the limits of its operations in accordance with its standard policy of intervention and to employ its own methods and techniques without interference—to the extent that a project can become a state with the state. A situation of this kind is scarcely conducive to a fundamental reform of education."

Certain of the features included in this analysis of what has occurred in Upper Volta concern the theoretical aspects of the question. It would seem for example that the conclusion that, in a situation of dependence, "planning becomes an exercise concerned with the identification of projects" is universally valid. This is inherent in the very nature and logic of this planning technique. In reality planning *by* projects cannot be anything else but planning *of* projects—for the simple reason that there is a multitude of external aid agencies, each acting in its own way and pursuing its own objectives, and a number of projects, often an arbitrary choice, controlled by these agencies and spread over various areas of national activity.

Planning education means devising a co-ordinated plan for educational development with every aspect and feature in harmony and forming an integral part of the overall plan for the country's socio-economic development. But this does not apply in the case of project-based planning and it is highly unlikely that its nature will change.

In developing countries reform of the educational system is of vital importance. As has been stated above, project-based planning has no contribution to make—and, to borrow Damiba's expression, the result is that reform of the educational system becomes "a project like any other, to be sold to a source of outside aid".

What is even more serious is that, in these conditions, project-based planning becomes a vehicle for foreign domination, thereby accentuating still further the dependent status of developing countries.

Introductory notes for discussion on the topic

Employment, the world of work, and the new perspectives for educational planning

Jacques Hallak

It is important to do things without knowing why or for whom.

H. Condoy

Not only does the application of technology itself constitute a form of methodological, scientific and calculated domination (of nature and Man). . . . Technology is always a social-historical project; it is a projection of what a society (and its power groups) intends to make of Man and things.

H. Marcuse

To criticize educational planning, to discuss its strengths and weaknesses, really amounts to formulating hypotheses as to the complex relationships which exist between expertise and policy. Up until the dawn of the twentieth century bureaucrats and military and political leaders in the performance of their duties ignored or paid little heed to recommendations made by scientists; the exercise of power was "rationalized" essentially by means of administrative tasks being organized on the basis of a division of labour, clearly defined responsibilities and in accordance with officially adopted standards. Gradually, however, one began to observe (as with the first Russian plans, for example) a change, which was slight at the outset but which became increasingly pronounced, in the role of men of "science" in political life; political leaders began to turn to scientists for help in decision-making. Without going as far as to state that the experts have taken over the machinery of government, one has to admit that the exercise of power has been structurally transformed by the so-called "practical" requirements of the new technologies and by the presence of experts.

In order to describe and understand the relationships between experts and politicians one needs to examine two types of models.

The first of these (which draws its inspiration from the works of Max Weber and his decisional model) emphasizes the considerable contradiction between the rationality in the choice of means and the irrationality in the choice of social values, objectives and needs. This type of model which, for the sake of convenience, we shall term "a-rational models"—where the politician takes precedence over the expert—covers a whole series of different situations, ranging from the autocratic systems of feudal power, or ones which existed prior to any incursion of expert opinion into the area of policy-making, to liberal or dictatorial systems in which the rationalization of the process of controlling society has been developed to a very high degree.

The second of these—already foreseen by Saint-Simon—is predicated upon a reversal of the relationship between expert opinion and policy to the detriment of the latter. Policy becomes the servant of the intelligentsia who decide on the "practical" *implications* of new technologies and the progress made in the understanding of social conditions and their evolution, as well as the *options* which these offer to the politicians. These are techno-rational models which assert the immanence of science and technical progress, relegating the politician to the role of someone who carries out the decisions made by the expert.

The hopes to which educational planning gave rise, its official acceptance, the criticism which it provoked and the justifications which followed can be understood with the help of these two types of model. Reference is made sometimes to techno-rational models and at other times to a-rational models to explain the decisions adopted or rejected, the achievements of educational planning or its futility. Planning on the basis of objectives laid down by the political authority, estimating the cost of a reform of the system, calculating the requirements for a school-transport system on the basis of a standard journey-time, forecasting the buildings and equipment required to provide universal primary education, etc., surely implied drawing up proposals to achieve these aims. The planner—the expert—becomes the politician's servant; this is the a-rational model, because the politician is free to ignore the recommendations of the expert. When the planners, wishing to go a stage further, disagreed about the criteria to use in the choice of objectives for extending education, e.g., the "manpower approach", the "economic rates of return" approach, the "social demand" approach, etc., their behaviour was still consistent with the a-rational models. For the choice of these criteria may well remain in the hands of the politician and in any case there is nothing to prevent several alternatives being developed on the basis of the different criteria. However, in practice and invoking the support of "obvious technical arguments", educational economists quarrelled about methods for fifteen years when in fact their differences concerned the criteria, thereby quite simply usurping the politician's role; the techno-rational models are closer to real conditions when the experts state that cost/benefit analysis can help in the allocation of educational resources—but to the exclusion of any other; or that planning must be geared to social demand; or that the manpower approach should be adopted. There are few education plans which do not bear the stamp of their authors' beliefs—whether one refers back to the first Russian and then French plans or analyses the plans of developing countries in recent years or whether one looks at the research and studies concerning the universities and carried out in the name of planning. If such operations are seen to be useless or never progress beyond the blueprint stage, then much play is made of the difference between the "technician" and the "politician" and the fact that techniques cannot solve political problems—here we are dealing with a-rational models. If such operations are followed by results and produce some action, despite the fact that a check will show the politician's final authority in deciding the options, the doubt persists for the simple reason—but this is not the only one—that the planner has restricted the area of choice. (Certain performance budgeting, PPBS and school-map operations are particularly good examples of this.) Here we are dealing with techno-rational models.

This clearly shows the numerous weaknesses of these two types of model.

The principal drawback to the techno-rational model is its assumption that there is continuity between dealing with technical problems and dealing with political problems—whereas such continuity is obviously lacking. One cannot define social needs or the directions of social change (whether forwards or backwards) on the basis of a solution to technical problems (in the areas of either the social or natural sciences). To vote in favour of "planning education for social change" in a techno-rational context or, more precisely, to envisage equating (or systematizing) resources, constraints and recommendations aimed at changing social needs and systems of value is like hunting for a lost pattern (which has in fact never existed). Or perhaps there are other forms of decision to elucidate these problems of values but which cannot be discovered through the intervention of the expert, or it is impossible to sanction the decisions which have been taken. Which brings us back to the a-rational models: it is well known that in certain highly developed countries such models are still highly regarded; because one has succeeded in pushing back the area of the irrational to the extent where a limit is reached beyond which a decision is reduced to its purest expression, free of any element susceptible to analysis and expert appraisal. Thus, for example, when cost/benefit analysis models of different educational policy measures compare the need for fairness with criteria of efficiency and demonstrate that by using different systems for weighting criteria this produces decisions of a possibly conflicting nature, the politician finds himself obliged to exercise his authority by being a-rational. However, it is not clear what logical reasons there are for not giving greater thought to these ("pure") decisions. Thus the major weakness of a-rational models (at least in their most modern forms) is to overlook the *values* linked to the interests and powers involved and the *techniques* which could be used to satisfy these.[1] As soon as these values are not confirmed by experience they either die (being treated as digressions) or are reduced to the status of meaningless phrases or myths. (At the risk of exaggerating somewhat one could quote the "right to education", "free schooling", etc.) Conversely, science, technology, expertise and experience can give rise to new social needs and changes in the system of values. (The "advantages" of mastery learning which was first introduced in the United States and which was adopted on a wide scale in Korea provide a good example of this.) Habermas hit the nail on the head when he wrote that it was purely academic to attempt to differentiate between questions of values and questions of practical necessity.

Thus basically both types of model present problems, as is shown by the analysis of their implications on the ideological level.

In a techno-rational system planning reduces the political authority's function to one of administrative rationalization, and the adoption of such a system can only be at the expense of democracy itself. In fact, to make policy subject to practical necessity is to (i) give political recognition to expert opinion and (ii) as a result, make it immaterial—provided that qualifications are equal—what social group is in power. To take an example from a report submitted in connection with this seminar: the recognition of relationships between "incitative policies" and "individual behaviour patterns" (assuming that such relationships are apparent), and the fact that it is stated that such relationships exist whatever the political régime, is not of the slightest help in solving either the problem of the choice of the incitative means (the problem of power) nor that of justifying the right to "tamper with" individual behaviour patterns (the problem of legitimacy). It is, however, precisely these problems which confront the educational planner.

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[1] Despite what Pierre Massé, one of the prime movers behind French planning, believed.

Paradoxically, planning in an a-rational system leads to a similar kind of deadlock. If the planner has no say whatsoever in the choice of options, he is either reduced to performing a useless function or to providing the ("scientific") justification for the action of the political leaders. Whether or not these leaders were elected does not enable us to dismiss the problem of legitimacy—because, even in the most advanced democracies, experience has shown that elections are *generally* concerned with individuals and groups in positions of authority (or in opposition to other power groups) and not with programmes or philosophies dealing with political decisions. Without going into the subject at great length, it can be said that such decisions do not generally fall within the prerogatives of the bulk of the population and are rarely the subject of public debate; in which case authority, unassailable in its a-rationality and linked with the dominant social groups, may be legitimized but not rationalized. Thus in an a-rational system planning has no role to play—the decisions would in any case have been taken or not taken; or, what is more serious, planning may be required to supply a cover of expertise and neutrality, thereby circumventing the problems of power and legitimacy without questioning the ideological basis for this power nor the legitimacy of its exercise.

Such remarks outline the history of educational planning over the last twenty years. The methods, content, procedures and structures of planning, developing within a techno-rational or a-rational system, have accurately reflected the true nature of the relationships between the expert and the politician. A brief reminder of some of the criticisms levelled at educational planning will suffice to prove the point:

(1) many plans are prepared and never put into effect;
(2) planning is restricted because it is exclusively quantitative;
(3) educational planning is too economic and not sufficiently multi-disciplinary;
(4) educational planning is technocratic;
(5) planning does not prevent the educational system from being either inefficient or inequitable, etc.

In fact, apart from their value as descriptions, the types of model examined here highlight two key considerations against which any proposal regarding new perspectives for educational planning should be measured. The first of these is the need to acknowledge the close interaction between expertise and policy; the second and parallel consideration is the need to reject any procedure which aims at rationalizing domination, prevents any questioning of the ideological basis for such domination, or tends to perpetuate social systems. It is not easy to devise a model which does justice to all these aspects without straying into the realm of the utopian. Yet how is one to discuss the new perspectives for educational planning without reference to a model which describes the relationship between the expert and the policy-maker? For this reason therefore, in order to provide at least some form of reference and define the problem of planning in clear terms, I shall attempt to outline such a model, which I shall call a "dialectical model" since it postulates dialectical relationship between the technical and the policy-making areas.

This model is in many respects similar to Habermas' empirical model and assumes a continuous interaction between the areas of expertise and policy; an interaction which makes authority accessible firstly to scientific discussion and secondly to public discussion. In this model, such reciprocal communication is considered as both necessary and possible; in fact, on the one hand, the development of new technologies (in the exact and natural sciences) and new methods (in all the sciences including the social sciences) is governed by needs and their historical interpretation; on the other hand, the interests of society, its systems of values, are adjusted by being geared to technical capabilities and methods—which strips them of their aura of sanctity. With a model of this kind, the scope of political action becomes subject to modification and open to discussion—the divorce, the discontinuity between expertise and policy is replaced by a continuity of communication. Such a model would raise a problem from the ideological standpoint if "censure" of the policy aspect were to be the sole prerogative of the technician or if his dialogue with the politician were to take place in a vacuum. Consequently, in the last resort the success of this interaction will depend on increased intervention by the mass of the population, of public opinion as a whole, acting as a political institution. In other words, this model has three basic features:

1. It strips the system of values of its aura of sanctity, both with respect to the politician's role and with respect to the objectivity attributed to science.
2. This is the outcome of communication between experts and political decision-makers which (i) determines the direction of technical progress on the basis of an understanding of social needs and (ii) submits the interpretation of these needs to a critical analysis based on the findings produced by the experts.
3. It provides for direct involvement of the population in the process of communication, thus giving it the basic role of mediator between the expert and the policy-maker.

These features are obviously those of a democratic régime in the political-science definition of the term and, as everyone knows, it is easier to plan democracy on paper than put it into practice. Even if one disregards the problems of conflicting interests and considers only certain of their effects, one can foresee three series of problems arising from the operation of such a model. Firstly, the translation and interpretation of the expert's findings into a language which the policy-maker can understand creates serious difficulties. Secondly, experience has shown that, as soon as an attempt is made to subject actions of a technical nature to public discussion, this arouses suspicion ("putting ideology into everything", "the danger that, by distorting the findings, public opinion will be manipulated"). Thirdly, and this is the most pertinent aspect for this seminar, how is it possible to prevent the orientation of research and the expert's activity from being either implicitly or explicitly motivated by a desire to perpetuate the society's way of life rather than making this the outcome of (and measured against) the political viewpoints expressed by *all* the social groups involved (and not just those of the dominant classes)? This implies that the basic social requirements are met when the attempt is made to assess the evolutionary trends in our society, provided such trends meet with the conditions required for operation of the dialectical model, and consequently whether one can properly speak in terms of new—and therefore different—perspectives for educational planning.

In practice, research which meets the requirements of communication between technician and policy-maker and whose objectives include making clear the conditions for social change in relation to the educational and cultural levels of the society, enables given social institutions to be compared and understood with the aid of the expertise used and potentially available; conversely, such clarification, which can take the form of criticism of the ideology (of the dominant class), enables social needs and avowed or unavowed political aims to be reoriented. It is in this context that our research activity in the area of education, work and job availability needs to be interpreted. But, first of all, we should take note of the pattern of educational planning within the dialectical model:

1. Planning is both political and technical at the same time.
2. From the technical point of view, the task is to enlarge the boundaries of rationality on the policy-maker's instigation (or without it?); to supply information without restriction (no subjects are tabu); to disseminate information (by making it accessible and free of bias); to assess the effects of any proposed decisions *before* these are implemented; to stress the need to assess alternatives.
3. From the political point of view, any concern for fairness and representivity means that the answer to the question "who plans?" has to be "all the social partners", with the technicians acting merely as assistants; decisions as to the studies and work to be undertaken are based on recommendations made by the policy-maker and the technician; any decision envisaged, with its implications analysed by the experts, must be submitted to broad public debate.

One of the first things to be noticed is the importance of the preliminary analysis in planning, not forgetting, of course, that primary concern is not centred on the school; which makes it essential to tackle the problem from the right end, i.e. from the aspect of the hypotheses for social change. Secondly (the methods), the "expertise" has no meaning "*in abstracto*"; it is governed by the needs and must participate in discussions about changing them; how many plans, how many projects of an irreproachable methodology are gathering dust on ministerial shelves rather than acting as a stimulus for action! And thirdly—and this is the main point—depending on the model of society in operation (it is essential that this be made clear) the nature of educational planning will be different. The a-rational model will at best lead to "administering" the school system; one must avoid the worst, namely, serving as an alibi for the decisions taken by authority. The techno-rational model constitutes a challenge which educational planning cannot accept; techno-rational societies are in any case doomed in the eyes of those who wager on progress. The dialectical model, which is utopian today, may however act as an inspiration for those who are supporters of political democracy: in this case the planner (stepping down from his technician's pedestal) will accept the risk (and the frustration) of seeing the results of his work discussed and rejected, i.e., of becoming one of the actors with, amongst other things, the thankless task of producing and disseminating information in a form accessible to the mass of the population.

In practice, it is difficult to find societies which constitute "perfect models"; at any given moment the techno-rational, a-rational and dialectical models may well coexist, depending on the government's sectors of activity; what is more, each of the three types of model is sufficiently heterogeneous to cover a very wide variety of situations (the a-rational model is a good example of this). Thus, the prime merits of such a classification lie (i) in the particular emphasis given to the relationship between expertise and policy-making and (ii) in the frame of reference which it provides with regard to the perspectives for educational planning. With regard to this latter aspect, the pattern of planning within a dialectical society as outlined above is put forward as an indication of the direction which planning could take. This is the direction we would prefer because the model of society to which it corresponds is closest to practical democracy. But this planning should not be interpreted as being (i) the *new* pattern for educational planning *as chosen by the expert*; (ii) the *panacea* for all the problems encountered by those responsible for educational policy; (iii) *representative* of the *direction in which societies of the late 1970s will necessarily evolve over the short term*. It is rather an outline (as yet unfinalized) of a *standard* pattern, whose introduction, let it be remembered, requires the prior satisfaction of certain social conditions (in particular with respect to communication) which are outside the control of national or international experts. Reconciling the relationships between the expert and the policy-maker will no doubt continue to raise problems and maintain the drama of the power relationships within society.

A classic case in this context is the area of research[1] in educational sciences: there are already some signs which indicate that certain research activities over the past five or ten years seem to have fulfilled some of the social conditions for communication between the technician and the policy-maker, announcing as their objective that of making clear the conditions for social change, refusing to shelter behind the ideological instinct to perpetuate the existing social system. In this connection, a paper submitted by one of the participants in the seminar is particularly striking.[1] The introduction of educational reform in Upper Volta, despite the attempt at participation described by Damiba, has no doubt been derived from and followed principles other than those of the pure dialectical model; but this is of no consequence; the mere attempt—which ten years ago would have been inconceivable—is in itself an interesting sign. Other experiments have already been carried out in this area, e.g., Cuba, China, Zambia, etc., not forgetting the introduction of the Fontanet Reform in France, and these help us to imagine what the practical outcome of the dialectical model would be (and in particular its social cost).

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[1] Here and in what follows the term "research" is used in its broadest sense, i.e. including opinion polls, public discussions, the assembling of data, as well as statistical analyses, studies, etc.

With respect to the scientists, who are generally not in direct contact with the policy-makers, there are certainly no indications of any research fulfilling the conditions for communication between technician and policy-maker (certain of their works—despite their considerable importance—are so difficult to read that it would seem that their authors are writing solely for a group of initiates); however, criticism of the dominant ideology has become fashionable in research into educational sciences (to the point where the procedure even becomes suspect); and, in this respect at least, such research is helping to make clear the conditions for social change, which thus places it half-way between the a-rational model and the dialectical model. To take some examples related to the topic "education, work and employment", one can quote the work done on theories of segmentation of the labour market; the studies on the contribution of the school, of the world of work (and of other social institutions) to the perpetuation of social structures; some of the research on methods of transition from school to working life; certain of the analyses of the practical role of unemployment within industrial societies and the level of unemployment in relation to the level of education, etc.

It is somewhat from this viewpoint that the IIEP research activity on education, work and employment should be interpreted. In the appendix to this document (pp. 94-103) will be found an introductory conceptual note describing this research programme. With respect to the proposed framework of analysis, let it be sufficient here to underline the real significance of the assumptions adopted by commenting on their implications with regard to an understanding of the relationships between education and the world of work.

In the first place, unemployment, which concerns so many countries, can no longer be considered as a *residual* (however intolerable) phenomenon which has its origin in the imbalances between the global supply and demand for labour and between the specific supply and demand (e.g., by geographic area, sex or sector of production) for staff with various qualifications. It is perhaps also—and some would say above all—a phenomenon with its own *raison d'être within* the socio-economic system in which it occurs, and this from two points of view. On the one hand, it is a direct result of the economic strategies adopted by the countries concerned and their underlying social options; to take an example: to ignore the fact that disruption of the international monetary system, allied with the growth in liquidity in Europe, encouraged the inflationary boom of the years 1972-75, delivering a blow to investment, to expansion and consequently to any growth in employment, and, as is increasingly the tendency, to speak of unemployment as a structural phenomenon, is at the same time to resign oneself to treating it as such (who benefits from unemployment?) and (despite the policies of aid to the unemployed) accepting that this, together with recession, is the price which has to be paid in order to halt an inflation which one is unwilling (or unable) to control. On the other hand, the unemployed are a factor (like any other) in the structure of employment, with a role to play which is perfectly consistent with this structure. In the dialogue between technicians and political leaders one can imagine the difficulties which will result from a strengthening of the mediatory role given to the public as a whole. In all events, the educational planner appears to have no great leverage in the debate except to suggest trivial measures (e.g., prolonging the period of schooling, the recruitment of teachers), record the fact that the school system highlights unemployment by promoting migration from rural areas, or suggest short-term or marginal measures (e.g., vocational guidance, in-service training schemes, educational leave, etc.). The proposals to ruralize education, to adapt teaching curricula by emphasizing the "vocational aspect", take on an unusual importance; later on a brief description will be given of a monograph devoted to the theme: "adapting education to develop the individual's employment prospects"!

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[1] A. Damiba, "Educational planning in theory and practice". Included in this volume (pp. 57-74).

In the second place, the conceptual outline contained in the appendix, if anything, rejects the profile "supply-demand" schema, or at least superimposes the "correspondence-conflict" schema in the relationship between jobs and qualifications. This means that segmentation of the labour market is seen as the consequence of conflicts of interest between competing social groups and not, as some think, solely of the fact that it is a matter of different markets for different goods (i.e., manpower profiles). This also means questioning the significance of current occupational classifications, when such classifications ignore *de facto* the true nature and working conditions for the various occupations and when they assign one-dimensional profiles to workers in these jobs. These two research topics—the monograph on segmentation and the comparative analysis of employment structures—are intended to stimulate thought and a discussion which in this area is far from being at an end. In the dialogue between the educational specialist and the politician, one presupposes the importance of the historical aspect in the analysis of the development of the world of work and the school so as to be able to identify the influence of each of these institutions within the social system in deciding the direction of change and the nature of progress; and the difficulties of opting for voluntarist educational reform policies which embody (i) maximum correspondence between democratic social relationships and (ii) maximum conflict between democratic and repressive social relationships (see appendix). The research topics included in the research programme—monographs on reforms and industrial democracy, a case study on France—are particularly relevant in this context.

In the third place, introducing "social relationships" within the conceptual framework and within the outlined correspondence schema introduces a special requirement with regard to methodology, i.e., quantitative differences with respect to parameters such as conditions of recruitment, salary levels, degrees of supervision, diplomas obtained, etc. can no longer be described and understood unless these are tackled on the basis of the relationships applying between the structures within which such factors arise—industries, sectors, departments, systems of training, etc. For example: non-formal education cannot be understood without reference to the structure of the whole training system and its place within this system; proposals for "non-formalizing" education must (as far as their implications are concerned) be analysed in this context. The same is true of proposals for ruralizing education or for any structural reform of the educational system. The problem of school wastage is not solely the result of education's "dysfunction" or lack of efficiency; it has its own *raison d'être* in the context of this system and in the context of the economic and social systems in which it occurs; to introduce reforms aimed at eliminating school wastage will not, in the last analysis, eliminate the problem of the role filled by wastage in the world of work: at best, one will succeed only in replacing the problem of wastage by another problem of a similar nature. This methodological requirement governs all of the research activity directed to the topic of education, work and employment.

For obvious reasons, this research activity, undertaken at an international level, has a less important role to play than research carried out in a particular country. (Cf. the features of the dialectical model described above.) At the international level, in fact, one naturally thinks in terms of four functions for research programmes:

1. To facilitate the gathering and dissemination of the results of research on a given theme carried out in various countries. A survey/inventory has been carried out amongst some 400 institutions; the response rate, although satisfactory, is on the low side. It is hoped, however, that the analysis of replies will be useful in increasing communication between specialists and those responsible for educational policy.
2. To profit from the conclusions from work already done on certain aspects so as to draw the lessons from such experience, identify the implications with regard to educational policy and assess what are the most promising avenues in terms of research. A certain number of monograph studies are in course of preparation with this object in mind. The topics covered are: "the implications of industrial democracy for education"; "the problems of edu-

cational reform"; "the theories on segmentation of the labour market"; "education and self-employment"; "technical progress and the structure of qualifications". As will be apparent, the purpose of these monographs is to help draw up a progress report on research currently being carried out and facilitate communication of the findings to the various countries. However, it is also hoped that these monographs, through the choice of subjects covered, will help to highlight the conditions of social change by emphasizing the critical analysis of the dominant ideology and stripping it of its aura of sanctity. The monograph on industrial democracy for example (i) lists the numerous concepts and forms of industrial democracy, (ii) attempts to assess the trends towards greater equality of opportunity and worker-participation in management, (iii) analyses trends in the development of educational systems from the point of view of their effect on the world of work and above all (iv) raises the question of the implication for developed societies of the trend towards industrial democracy, i.e., is this merely a temporary phenomenon or the beginnings of a structural change in social relationships within the productive system? The implications for educational planning will obviously vary, depending on how this question is answered. The monograph attempting to relate changes in the nature of work, educational reform and educational planning, although its subject is close to that of the previous monograph, uses a more radical approach. The schema adopted postulates a relationship of correspondence and conflict between institutions within the social system (between the school and the world of work) and assumes that such types of relationship can be at the root of social change. This is the context in which one should view educational reform and its chances of success. The monograph on the theories of segmentation (i) dismisses the non-historical, comforting theories on the conflict-free functioning of the labour market, (ii) endeavours to assess the trend of industrialization (and its effects on the social relationships within the system of production) via its consequences on the stratification of the labour market, (iii) analyses the school's twin role as a supplier of skilled labour and a perpetuator of social relationships, (iv) summarizes and discusses the findings of several empirical studies carried out in this area. The monograph on self-employment is an outcome of the considerable concern caused in recent years by the level of unemployment in most countries: "since it is not possible to increase salaried employment fast enough, whatever assumptions are used in forecasting economic growth, the number of self-employed persons needs to be expanded". But in order to do this "education has to be reformed to tailor it to the needs of self-employment", etc. This is typical of the glib phrases used and in the words of the author of this monograph "we shall probably find that the eloquent descriptions of self-employment are somewhat removed from reality". This monograph will make a careful analysis of the self-employed sector, its function and place in the economic and social structure of each country and the type of relationship existing between it and education—whilst always bearing in mind past experience. By so doing, it will assist in building up a satisfactory assessment of the possibilities and limits of the educational development strategies suggested as a solution to the problems of the self-employed sector. The monograph on the effects of technical progress on the structure of qualifications will provide a concrete illustration of the complex relationships between the world of work and the world of education: its intention is to demonstrate the "relative" nature of the determinism of "technical" (and technological) factors in the utilization of manpower (both skilled and unskilled); for some time in fact work-study specialists have shown that, in addition to the technical factors, there is scope for using social factors in determining the conditions for utilizing manpower with different qualifications and degrees of training. If the same job can be filled by a wide variety of people with different backgrounds, then some serious thought must be given to the interaction between supply of and demand for qualifications and the consequences of this for the educational system.

3. To promote transnational studies: to this end, a start has already been made on a comparative statistical analysis of employment structures. The object is to get a new "reading" on statistics already available (through research or census data) so as to highlight the correlations and differences between the characteristics of jobs and the characteristics of workers (in particular sex, educational profile, etc.). There are several underlying premises to this analysis: (i) in a few cases it is possible to improve the "performances" (or "curves") of the tables (or graphs) relating educational level and employment, (ii) there is some similarity between the employment structures of different countries, e.g., by classification, by level of qualification, by sector of activity, by sex, etc., (iii) some useful conclusions will be forthcoming with regard to the type of information which needs to be collected when any new surveys on employment are undertaken. Moreover, we are endeavouring to develop and promote a "different method of reading" for employment statistics. This involves constructing an algorithm enabling data analysis to be structured in such a way that it provides matter for reflection concerning the positive correlation between education and the world of work (cf. the introductory analysis to the IIEP research programme) or between the characteristics of the jobs available (i.e. the demand) and those of the workers (i.e. the supply). In order to do this, one has (i) to steer clear of any preconceived idea of job classifications even to the point of breaking down job categories as far as possible or "rating" them in accordance with parameters of working conditions (e.g. stability, responsibility, authority, etc.), and (ii) deliberately introduce the "historical" dimension in the development of these positive correlations. An initial trial algorithm has already been subjected to two empirical tests with promising results which warrant further testing in the field.
4. To take risks, develop and test new methodologies in key areas where little research has been done by national organizations. In this connection, in order to improve the methodology underlying the conceptual framework,

three case studies are currently under way. The first of these, in a region in the south of France, aims to assess the correlation between education and employment via a twin survey on a small sample of companies and several particularly important educational establishments. The second, in Panama, with its special emphasis on the capital city, includes a macro-social monograph combining an historical dimension in its analysis of the country's status of economic dependence in 1974 and a survey amongst some 100 industrial, commercial and service organizations in an attempt to throw light on the way human resources are used and the implications of this for educational policy. The third, in two regions of Indonesia (Jakarta in Java and Padang in West Sumatra), comprises four surveys amongst employers in the sectors of building, commerce, textiles and the hotel trade, together with a survey amongst workers. In addition to the value of such studies from the methodological point of view, it is hoped that they will throw some light on the place of education in industry's recruitment policy; the existence of domestic markets for labour; the characteristics of jobs and workers; the oversupply of graduates, etc. All of which are factors liable to stimulate an in-depth analysis of the relationships between education, the nature of industry (its size, sector, mode of operation, etc.) and the system of manpower utilization. It is taken for granted—and in this respect, this research differs substantially from the usual type of research in this area—that knowledge of industry's personnel policy should not necessarily entail planning education to make it even more suited to the requirements of the world of work. This research does not consider that it would be a desirable objective to accept the predominance of the world of work over the educational system, which implies gearing educational development to the system of production. Whether this objective should be adopted or rejected must depend both on the nature of the system of production (e.g., its capitalistic structure, its manner of allocating income between capital and labour; the quantity of industrial assets owned by foreign interests; whether the growth philosophy favours activities with a low or high labour content; labour's freedom to negotiate; the labour laws and regulations, etc.) and on the nature of the training system (whether this is open or closed; national or under some form of cultural or linguistic domination; expanding or stagnating; based on a system of equal opportunity or highly discriminatory—with regard to sex, age, ethnic group, financial status, etc.; "horizontal" or "vertical", etc.). There is no sense in speaking of "limitation of numbers" or "comprehensive schools" unless one specifically relates such measures to the social and economic context to which they apply. By the same token, it is both alarming, ironic and surprising that for years the aim was to "plan education *on the basis of* the requirements of the world of work" or "plan education *for* employment" whereas

— the world of work governs the educational system to such an extent that, in this respect, planning might well appear superfluous (this is the principal hypothesis on which our research is based);

- the requirements of the world of work may well correspond to those of a world of repression, discrimination and exploitation, or even of a world which lacks drive, is unlikely to favour the economic development of the country, and is dominated by foreign interests creaming off the bulk of the added value, etc. Should education be planned with a view to strengthening and perpetuating such a world?

Such comments provide us with the subject-matter for our concluding remarks concerning our preoccupation with the relationship between education and the world of work and the new perspectives for educational planning.

In this area, as in many others, despite the quantity of work which has already been carried out, much still remains to be done to provide material for an in-depth analysis of the interactions between the two social institutions concerned—the school and working life. The expert, the specialist, must incorporate into his schema (cf. appendix) not only technology but also the organization of work and social relationships.

If it is likely, as the preliminary results from research and other recent work would indicate, that the problem of the relationship between education and employment cannot be reduced to the simple question "how many people need to be trained and with what qualifications?", but has to be broadened to "how can total domination of the world of education by the system of production be avoided?" and "to what extent can education influence the world of work?" —in other words, whether one should broaden the scope of the inquiry by raising the problem of the "interactions between school and work with a view to social change"—one can understand the need to include, in our programme of activities, research monographs on topics as fundamental as reform, industrial democracy, etc. rather than to concentrate the effort entirely on analyses of the workings of the labour market or studies relating "level of education-categories of employment".

There is no automatic link between the knowledge which the expert acquires (the preliminary analysis) and the recommendations for action. For example, as was seen above, awareness of industry's personnel policy does not necessarily imply gearing educational policy to it. The preliminary analysis should probably serve as a prelude to a dialogue between expert and politician with, to a greater or less developed degree, the mediation of the population and public opinion as a whole. We need to be aware of the fact that, without the intervention of public opinion, the dialogue will take place *in camera* between specialists and men of action, leading sometimes to the techno-rational model and sometimes to the a-rational model, equally outside the realm of legitimate authority and social change.

This is the difficulty with which we are faced; no doubt its solution is beyond our competence and our capabilities. Yet is this sufficient reason for shelving it?

Appendix

An introductory note on a research project dealing with employment, the nature of work and educational planning

Introduction

Educational planning in recent years has been losing much of its credibility. Writing up reports of failures has become a fashionable business, enjoying the support both of international organizations and of educationalists of world-wide renown.[1]

More especially in the field of education and employment inquest has followed inquest, usually concluding with (i) the difficulties of dealing with the unemployment question, (ii) the need to resort to new educational strategies and (iii) the inadequacy of the methods followed in the planning of human resources and the urgent need for research work to be done in this field. Without being exhaustive, we would mention in this connection the papers that have emerged from organizations such as the OECD Development Centre, the specialized services of the World Bank and the Employment and Development Department of the ILO. Into the same category falls a research project started in 1973 by the International Institute for Educational Planning on higher-education graduates, consisting of a series of national case studies.

The present new research project avoids a duplication of other research work being done on the same subject. Its main aim is to contribute to developing a new approach to educational planning, better adapted to the actual requirements. It deals only indirectly with the problems of graduate unemployment, postulating that this is above all a development problem and maintaining that the contribution to be made by educational planning must be looked at in that framework. Nor does it propose any new educational strategies (even if an endeavour is made indirectly to evaluate some of them), since its essential purpose is to give a clearer idea of the premises underlying such strategies.

It is therefore a project involving *methodology* and *diagnosis*, as the following pages will show.

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1. There is a multitude of references on this; the most noteworthy or best known being: *The world educational crisis* by P. H. Coombs, *Learning to be* by E. Faure *et al.*, *Inequality* by C. Jencks *et al.*, as well as the reports of the Bellagio Group.

A. The starting-point: the theoretical model

Education in its form and content is conditioned by the production process, since it is this which determines the demands made on the schools. Conversely, changes and reforms in education may be by-passed and neutralized by the world of production if they are in conflict with its characteristics. None the less, it is not impossible for the school to sow the seeds of change in the production field; for instance, it is conceivable that the progressive widening of the education of the workers is at the root of the stresses to be observed in the field of labour, giving rise to discontent, strikes, etc., which in turn bring about changes in the production process.

In other words, if the planning of education means forecasting what is likely to happen, there is a need to identify the changes to be expected in the world of work and in the organization of production before there can be any chance of putting forward educational reforms of a type that would be realistic in a changing environment. If planning education means an attempt to "influence the future", there is a need to identify the kind of educational reforms which potentially lead to the progress wished for in the world of work and bank on such reforms not being completely neutralized by the environment they are applied in. Progress, in the history of societies, is undoubtedly the result of this kind of contradiction and stress between the various institutions of which societies consist.

In this connection, there is an important half-way house between the world of work and the school, namely the family. And we advance the theory, based on work done by a number of sociologists, that the part played by the family is not a neutral one, for it furthers the continuance of social systems, just as it may also generate conditions for change and progress.

More specifically, in the field that concerns us, some studies have asserted:[1]

1. That there is a correspondence between what the child learns at home and what he learns at school.[2]
2. That there is a correspondence between the behaviours of parents at home and in their work.
3. That there is a correspondence between what the child learns at home and the social class he belongs to.
4. That the inequalities that continue from generation to generation stem from the relationships between the spheres of work, family and school.
5. That the continuing openness, de-hierarchization, and relaxing of social relations at work can bring about and encourage similar reforms in social relations in education.[3]
6. That, correlatively, the prospects for the democratization of society are to be found in the contradictions that could arise, for instance, between the sphere of work and the education system.

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[1] The situation varies from country to country, and it is certainly not the same in developed countries and developing countries.

[2] Subject to specifying the "role" of the school; the school "transmits" attitudes and knowledge and furthers behaviours . . . or "filters" children on the lines of certain criteria. On this the debate continues, in spite of a number of empirical research projects on the role of the school.

[3] This is not obvious in the context of a developing country, where only a very small proportion of the working population is employed in the "formal" production sector.

The preceding assertions are grounded in the main on the findings of a number of studies; the most appropriate of these, from our point of view, have reached the following conclusions:

— Employers expect candidates for jobs to have not only vocational skills but also a number of non-cognitive characteristics—attitudes, motivations, state of health, etc. The conditions governing recruitment, promotion and laying-off of workers implicitly or explicitly include these features. Tests dealing with the USA even seem to indicate that non-cognitive characteristics are the most determinant.[1] Analyses made of wages and salaries received in France indicate that remuneration for work done does not depend only on the level of training for a given job; it also depends, for a given level of training, on the extent of control and management responsibilities falling on the individual concerned.

— These characteristics vary according to the type of job envisaged in a world of work which is highly stratified. For a blue-collar job, the stress is laid on qualities of discipline, obedience, exactness, unobtrusiveness, etc. For white-collar posts, emotional stability, confidence, perseverance, a certain amount of tact, and some initiative are looked for. For management jobs, it goes further and initiative, imagination and "internalization" of the company's values become the essential qualities expected of the candidate.

— There is not just *one* but several labour markets with their own forms of operating in terms of supply, demand, levels of remuneration, career prospects and mobility. For instance, there is a lot of difference between the labour markets for civil servants, for those employed by multi-national firms, by small and medium firms, by farms, etc. and for the self-employed. Similarly, there are a lot of differences between the market for the so-called "primary independent" jobs and that for the so-called "secondary dependent" jobs. It may well be that these markets are not entirely independent of one another, and that what goes on in one depends in large measure on what goes on in the others. None the less, it is an over-simplification to assume the existence of one single labour market.

— Social relations at work influence social relations in school and family, and as a result the degree of correspondence between social relations is key information to take into consideration in any contemplated educational reform. A large number of experts argue, however, that it is possible for one and the same education system to be compatible with various types of social relations at work; that there is a difference in kind between firm and school in respect of size, the technology made use of, the importance of capital, the aims, and the social functions exercised; moreover that it is perfectly possible to observe a progressive democratization of social relations in the world of work alongside a repressive development of social relations in the school or *vice versa*. While not lacking in weight, these arguments do more to open up the discussion than to bring it to a conclusion, for lack of convincing empirical data.

In any case, it is obvious that even if there is a grain of truth in the conclusions so reached, relations between education and work are too complex to be reduced to the terms of "job description/type of qualification/level of education" matrices. It is also not possible to describe them by means of models of supply and demand in a single market finding its equilibrium through a system of prices. When all is said and done, they imply a fundamental questioning of the principles and methods of educational planning.

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[1] A recent study done on Tunisia reaches the same conclusion.

The methods of educational planning in the various countries are based more or less directly, even today, on a reductionist view of education/employment relations, i.e., in the case of every given job a specific skill is required, at the very least this or that certificate or diploma; the "skill" in question, more or less closely defined (surgeon v. public relations officer) can be supplied by the education system (formal and non-formal); educational development is planned on the basis of the skills thus determined.

It is true that in recent years an awareness has emerged of the limits these relations have and an endeavour has been made to improve on them either (i) through the introduction of a system of prices (the rate of return approach) or (ii) by proposing a closer look at the functioning of the labour market, aiming thereby better to define the "cells" of the employment/education matrix or (iii) by rejecting these relations in favour of techniques for extrapolating trends (wrongly dubbed methods of projection on a basis of social demand). As regards these three methods, (i) the introduction of a system of prices may "relativize" the yoke binding training content and the job; since one and the same job can be held down by persons with different levels and types of training behind them, there will be a need to give thought to the costs of and the benefits expected from alternative training strategies before any decision is taken on the stress to be laid on this or that sector in the planning of education; (ii) closer knowledge of the working of the labour market will also assist in better distinguishing what is essential from what is superfluous in what employers look for, in getting a clear idea of the "profile supply/demand" relation and in putting forward, as a result, reforms aimed at a better match between the education system and the requirements of the labour market. As against this, (iii) techniques for extrapolating trends (which are still being employed in a number of countries, whatever one may think), ignore education/employment relations, which they do not attempt to elucidate and certainly do not attempt to reduce to more or less improved "technical coefficients".

To return to the other approaches, if the preceding propositions are correct, then whatever improvements might be made in them, these methods will always come up against an inadequate conceptual framework, a *framework* which essentially reduces the education/employment relation to the mere cognitive profiles of the workers with various kinds of skills and *postulates that this relation is one of supply and demand of profiles and not at the same time a relation of correspondence between social relations.*

Planning education, on this hypothesis, presupposes in the first place a close knowledge of these social relations and of the manner in which relations at work affect relations in the sphere of education and *vice versa*; in the second place, there is a need to go beyond "the arithmetic of enrolment projection" which is used at present, to the types of reforms and changes (in teacher-pupil relations, the management of educational institutions, the use made of teaching assistants, the supervision of training methods, etc.) likely to bring about either a greater degree of correspondence between school and job or a greater degree of contradiction leading to progress.[1]

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[1] We come here to the fundamental question of the role and limitations of educational planning. It is a question that remains open whatever methodology is made use of, but it becomes more explicit in this framework of definition (see diagram No. 2).

It is important to recognize that we have not yet available any rigorous theoretical model to support these propositions. In fact, one could envisage sketching out a number of educational development theories in different ideological contexts.

For instance, we can supplement the neo-classical theory of the economy of human resources by admitting that the market is stratified and that the education system is not as monolithic as it appears at first sight; with this in mind, we should broaden the relation of supply and demand of cognitive and non-cognitive profiles by differentiating it according to labour-market segments and adding the relationship of correspondence between social relations, i.e., the extent of correspondence between social relations is added to the degree of correspondence between cognitive and non-cognitive profils to provide an explanation in the jargon of the economist for the relative scarcity and the profitability of investment in education. A policy of education based on these indications could aim to further an increase in these degrees of correspondence both by making clear the part played by education in the production of non-cognitive characteristics and in questioning the types of social relations now relevant. Examples of what can be elucidated in the course of such analysis are reforms and innovations as diverse as the introduction of pupil participation, the de-schooling of society, the generalization of out-of-school activities, "vocationalization" of curricula, and the re-defining of the respective roles of pupil, teacher, inspector, administrator, etc., in new training strategies.

There are, however, other possible theories, bringing the historical dimension into the process of diagnosis and putting forward a more voluntarist approach to educational policy and planning. It has been said again and again that the school is the reflection of society; you can hardly expect a non-egalitarian and repressive society to bring forth a democratic and progressive school. If we take it that the world of work plays a vital role in society's prospects for evolution, any democratization in a sector of the world of work may offer a possibility of democratizing society. While the school is determined by the characteristics of the world of work it also influences the latter, since it is in fact one of the institutions which make up society. We have to give thought at one and the same time to the historical evolution of the world of work and that of the school so as to identify the most promising factors of change and opt for volitional policies of education characterized (i) by maximum correspondence between all types of democratic social relations and (ii) by maximum contradiction between democratic and repressive social relations.

Unfortunately, attractive as they may be, such draft theoretical models cannot escape being vague and undisciplined. Proponents of this or that theory will always be able to find arguments and data to support their own theories and demolish others. The important thing, however, is that it is difficult to justify them on a basis of irrefutable and unambiguous empirical data; while it may be possible to find data on the degrees of profile correspondence by raking through the mass of research work that has been done in this field, the situation is entirely one of speculation when it comes to degrees of correspondence of social relations. This is the more embarrassing because social relations are not determined independently and are probably affected by degrees of profile correspondence.[1] None the less, such empirical data can no longer be ignored in any procedure for planning human resources, whatever theory is adopted.

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[1] It is obvious that if a worker's ability to do his job depends on his cognitive profile and his working skill, the extent (intensity) of his successfully doing his work and

B. The aim of the research project

The aim of this research project is to assist the working-out of these new dimensions of educational planning. More precisely, what has to be done is:

(a) To test the theories put forward above on employment/education relations; in other words

- (i) what can we learn from the work done on the segmentation of the labour market? Are clear empirical facts available to help us to judge of the validity of this work?
- (ii) do correspondences really exist between social relations in the school, and at the workplace? How do these correspondences interact with those to be found in the markets for skills? What is the effect on degrees of correspondence as we leave the rural areas for the towns, the case of wage-earners for that of the non-wage-earners, the public sector for the private sector, small firms for big ones, and one branch of activity for another?
- (iii) It is probable that relations of correspondence are much more diffuse and complex when we come to the non-wage-earning sector and that in any case this conceptual framework is ill-fitted to deal with educational planning in reference to this category of work. What can we learn from the experience that has been accumulated in this field?

(b) To acquire a working knowledge of these relationships and devise a methodological tool for analysing them; in other words, is it really possible to cover the whole of the working population, analyse the social relations in the world of work and trace the history of the social relations experienced by the workers during their school years? Of course not. We have therefore to set up a methodology simple enough to be applied by a large number of countries and so devised as to provide meaningful results. It is this methodology for diagnosing relations between education and employment that is to serve as a basis for the improvement of existing approaches to educational planning.

(c) To deduce correlatively conclusions for educational policy, this being one of the project's main aims. If in fact a high degree of correspondence is found to exist between social relations, are we free to consider any measure of educational policy we like? Or must we take care to test the realism and the meaning of such measures in the light of the effect they have on social relations? To take an example, is it possible and realistic, whatever the system of production, to choose a training strategy laying stress on a system of vocational "marking", on abolishing the ranking system in the class? If, on the other hand, no clear tendency is visible in the matter of correspondence between social relations (assuming that this is not due to any failing of the methodology being followed or to the field of its application), what are the implications for educational policy and what part is to be attributed to the school in the democratization of society? What about educational policy in the non-formal sector? etc.

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the ways of doing it will depend on the social relations that he has with his environment at work. To what extent "ability" and "ways of doing it" are two independent realities remains an open question.

C. The significance of the research project

To the extent that the research work in view centres on methodological and diagnostic aspects, the expected results are of direct interest both to educational planning and to the IIEP training programme.

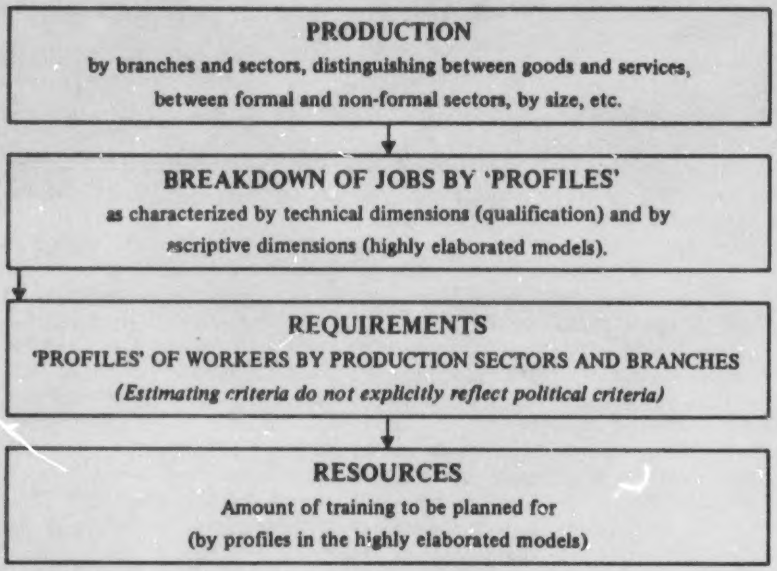
Let us give some illustrations. Suppose we discover some correspondence of social relations and to take an example, we find that, on average, the blue-collar workers have attended educational institutions characterized by strict discipline, strict relations between teacher and pupil, an inflexible timetable, etc., and that white-collar and management positions are held by people who attended schools characterized by liberal and flexible teaching conditions, informality between teacher and pupil, a flexible timetable, etc. The educational planner armed with this diagnosis may well raise the question of what is the best training strategy to decide on and what is the best direction for the development of the educational system; is he to promote evolution towards "closed" conditions as in the schools attended by blue-collar workers or towards "open" conditions? Since it is true that the criteria governing the decision are in the last resort political in their nature, it is vital that the nature of the decision should be clearly understood. If a country opts for "open" conditions, the correspondence test will make it possible to judge the realism of the option decided on or to speculate about the effects that might be expected in the long run. Finally, whatever option is decided on, it will be essential for the educational planner to foresee the implications of it in terms of resources, teacher retraining requirements, information campaigns directed at pupils' parents and at children, etc.

Again, if it appears that in fact the education/employment relation is, with a few rare exceptions, not so much a relation of supply and demand of profiles as one of correspondence between social relations, what meaning is then to be given to projections of enrolments at different levels and in different types of education? Can we continue with the aim of "basic education for all" without trying to provide a "supply" of social relations otherwise than by the formal education system? Are we to go on providing for the expansion of long and costly training programmes for white-collar or management jobs if what we learn from our research shows that the profiles in fact required for these jobs can be got in a more simple and less costly way, through the adoption, for instance, of "open" conditions of schooling? Viewed in this light, educational planning can no longer be limited to a more or less sophisticated exercise in the projection of enrolments, and of costs and financing requirements, possibly rounded off by the preparation of practical projects for implementation. (It is no longer a question of *how many* workers with different skills are to be trained, but also of *how* they are to be trained).

There would also be a need to examine what types of social relations are desired (and/or desirable), what are the conditions and prerequisites for generating them, what are the action priorities in the light of the resources available, etc. The reference frame itself would be modified and the planner would direct his efforts more to *diagnosis* than to making *proposals;* he might certainly prepare some proposals in line with decisions taken by the politician, but the essential part of his contribution would be in the realm of diagnosis.

The conceptual framework of educational planning itself might even be affected by the results of this research. In fact, if it is admitted that:

(a) the school has a part to play in moulding workers' non-cognitive characteristics;



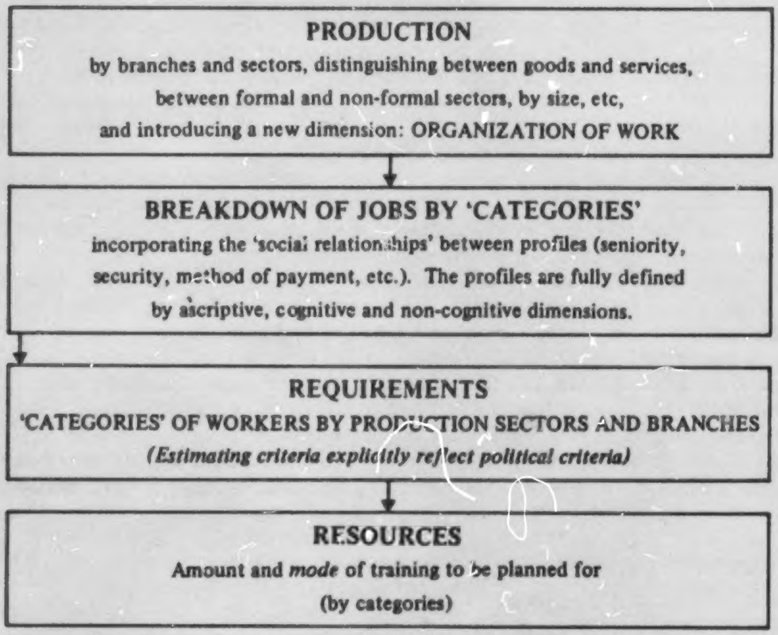
PRODUCTION
by branches and sectors, distinguishing between goods and services, between formal and non-formal sectors, by size, etc.

BREAKDOWN OF JOBS BY 'PROFILES'
as characterized by technical dimensions (qualification) and by ascriptive dimensions (highly elaborated models).

REQUIREMENTS
'PROFILES' OF WORKERS BY PRODUCTION SECTORS AND BRANCHES
(Estimating criteria do not explicitly reflect political criteria)

RESOURCES
Amount of training to be planned for
(by profiles in the highly elaborated models)

DIAGRAM 1. *The present conceptual framework.*



PRODUCTION
by branches and sectors, distinguishing between goods and services, between formal and non-formal sectors, by size, etc, and introducing a new dimension: ORGANIZATION OF WORK

BREAKDOWN OF JOBS BY 'CATEGORIES'
incorporating the 'social relationships' between profiles (seniority, security, method of payment, etc.). The profiles are fully defined by ascriptive, cognitive and non-cognitive dimensions.

REQUIREMENTS
'CATEGORIES' OF WORKERS BY PRODUCTION SECTORS AND BRANCHES
(Estimating criteria explicitly reflect political criteria)

RESOURCES
Amount and *mode* of training to be planned for
(by categories)

DIAGRAM 2. *The conceptual framework developed by the model.*

(b) social relations in the school do influence (and are influenced by) social relations at work;

(c) workers' non-cognitive characteristics vary according to the "class" of job they hold;[1]

(d) the distribution of jobs by "classes" is a function of both the organizational and the technical characteristics of the world of work;

(these being suppositions to be tested in the course of the research project); then diagram no. 2 will be more appropriate than diagram no. 1 for describing the conceptual framework of educational planning.

It is true that at first sight it might be thought that even if this diagram is admitted to be valid for wage-earners and in particular for those in large firms, the relation sketched out seems to be of little relevance when it comes to dealing with the general problem of the employment of the non-wage-earners (especially in the non-formal sector), which is particularly important for developing countries. In fact, many researchers and experts in educational economics argue that part of the solution for the problem of educated unemployment can be found through an expansion in "self-employment" activities in both the formal and non-formal sectors; this being so, should we not see the educational planner's priority as that of steering education programmes in the interest of this category of "customers", on the lines of the good old diagram no. 1 "education/cognitive profile"? The answer is no, certainly not, and in support of this contention we give you the words of an observer of what goes on in Asia, namely Dodson, who wrote:

> "Education received is not necessarily a skill in the taking of initiative. The world-wide prevalence of prosperous business set up by the less educated and the history of training schemes for the educated bear witness to the fact that experience, in its cognitive and non-cognitive content, is more important than training *per se*. Most of the education systems in Asia have laid stress on the aim of gaining security as it is to be found in the civil-service paradise; individual initiative and the spirit of it presuppose the opposite qualities, the capacity to take calculated risks, self-reliance, etc."

More than ever, therefore, it is essential for the educational planner to progress from the idea of "skill" (diagram no. 1) to that of "category" (diagram no. 2).

Hence, the impact of the project on the training programmes of the IIEP and other similar organizations is fairly obvious:

(a) the methodologies devised must cover the "*how many*" (cognitive dimensions) and the "*how*" (social relations);

(b) the methodologies devised must cover school and out-of-school, formal and non-formal;

(c) the economic dimension must be integrated with the sociological dimension of planning;

(d) the political dimension is likely to become more explicit;

(e) the aim will no longer be only that of "planning education to match the requirements of the labour market"; it may also become "planning to promote change in the labour market".

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[1] A "class" is defined here by the social relations by which it is characterized.

D. The scope of the research project

One has only to look at diagram no. 2 to see how many different directions the project could take. Is it to cover all economic activities? If not, which direction should be worked on as a matter of priority? Is it to limit itself more particularly to social relations or take in the comprehensive notion of "category"? Is it to cover the "prospective requirements/resources" relation or limit itself to a text-analysis of the existing relations between education, work and employment? Will it use global approaches or methodologies applied at micro level?

It is our idea that the "pilot stage" will provide answers to some of these questions; that is to say, as in the case of other IIEP research projects, this one will consist of (i) a pilot stage and (ii) a development stage.

By the time we reach the end of the pilot stage, we shall have:

(i) defined and circumscribed the field of the development stage of the research. However, even at the pilot stage we propose to limit the field of investigation by modulating the research procedures, i.e. a *global approach* for a macro-exploration of the question of job structures, combined with a *detailed approach* for testing education/employment relations, all this supplemented by a series of monographs to review existing researches and map out the most promising avenues for further research;

(ii) decided on the countries to be dealt with in the course of the development stage of the project. In principle, we should like to include countries that have reached various levels of development and belong to several socio-political systems. It would be easy to find twenty such. Realistically, however, we have to admit that the project will not be able to deal with more than four or five countries, care being taken to see that they show highly contrasting features. The international inquiry into job structures to be done during the pilot stage will assist in the choice to be made.

Comment

Raymond S. Adams, IIEP

> *"We must educate our masters."*
>
> (more or less) (Robert Lowe)
>
> *"If it (is) costly it should at least be efficient, and if it (is) inefficient it should at least be cheap."*
>
> (Robert Lowe)

By its very nature Jacques Hallak's paper demands a reaction. Because his new perspectives wrench and tear at old ones by implying that established theoretical conventions and their practical applications are inadequate, he virtually challenges the comfortably conventional to rise up in their own defence. On the other hand, his message also encourages those who are dissatisfied with existing models and conditions to unite in the battle for change.

Greatest justice is likely to be done to *both* sides if respective strengths and weaknesses are identified. To this end, our discussion of Hallak's paper should attempt to: (i) probe Hallak's argument in search of chinks in his conceptual and operational armour, and (ii) identify the conditions under which Hallak's 'dream' might be made real.

Accordingly, it is the purpose of this present brief commentary to raise several of the more obvious points at issue in the hope that subsequent discussion will lead to an elaboration and refinement of them and that in turn some of the subtleties of Hallak's position will be likely to be surfaced and its scope and implications recognized. The basic stance to be taken here revolves around two relatively straightforward questions:

(a) Are there points at which Hallak's argument may be questioned on theoretical or empirical grounds—that is, is it logically all of a piece, and

(b) Can it be made to work, despite the pessimistic implications of Hallak's own last paragraph?

Necessarily Hallak's argument must rely on certain assumptions about society and human nature. It is clear that he tacitly accepts a consensus view of societal evolution in that he argues that the inclusion of a third partner, the "public", in the process of negotiation between "politician" and "technical expert" will solve the hitherto unsolved problem of "legitimacy", "power" and "rationality" in planning. However, on face value it seems as if Hallak has not necessarily accepted the same assumption in another part of his work. In his studies of the world of work he employs a "correspondence-conflict" schema:

> "This means that segmentation of the labour market is seen as a consequence of conflicts of interest between competing social groups."

The questions that spring to mind as a consequence of what appears to be a double stance relate to:

(a) whether or not there are identnifiable differences between the two social contexts that warrant the acceptance of different basic assumptions;

(b) whether or not evolutionary "levels" are implied, with one level being in advance of the other ;

(c) what circumstances would induce evolution from one level to another.

Finally, with respect to theoretical aspects of Hallack's paper, there is one particularly intriguing point that invites conjecture. It is to be found in the appendix "An introductory paper on a research project dealing with employment, the nature of work and educational planning". It arises from his conceptualization of labour markets and his focus on social relationships. One wonders over the extent to which his model might generalize. Could it, for example, be applied with explanatory advantage to inter-agency operations and if so at what level? Could it apply to the United Nations, Unesco, the World Bank, the European Common Market, even IIEP? Again, could it generalize to the practice of participant-democratic planning, and if so with what effects?

Whatever the range and power of the Hallak plan, translating it into action would bring its own complications, as Hallak ruefully acknowledges: "it is easier to plan democracy on paper than put it into practice."

As well as the sheer problem of intercommunication between the various language groups—the technical, the political and the lay—there is another that may arise out of it. If diverse groups have to seek common denominators in order to act, that common denominator may tend to be the lowest. In other words, popular-democratic decision-making may result in conservatism—that is, unless there is acceptance of the idea of a need to change and a direction of change that can serve to validate the basis on which decisions should be made.

To this extent one is forced to ask whether Hallak's condition is enough, viz. that it is sufficient merely to:

> "reject any procedure which aims at rationalizing domination, prevents any questioning of the ideological basis for such domination or tends to perpetrate social systems."

To question the present may be a necessary condition for intelligent and profitable societal adaptation, but it can hardly be a sufficient one. In other words, what are the criteria of a "better society" on which decision-making should be based? What is the "proper" society supposed to look like? What societal benefits are supposed to result and become permanent? Or should the goal be the process not its consequences? Is the journey to be more important than arriving at the destination?

These last questions are sub-cases of a larger question that ought to be asked of any proposed 'solution', irrespective of whether it is advanced as a solution for society at large or educational planning in particular. That question is, "What is the problem for which the proposed solution is supposed to be the solution?"

On the assumption that we are led by the answer to the last question to pursue further the task of bringing Hallak's plan to fruition, it seems as if there are likely to be a number of functional prerequisites.

It would seem that ideally the exercise of co-operative planning requires among the participants at least a common basis of (i) understanding (which can then be taken for granted), (ii) communication, or (iii) a translator mechanism that reconstitutes the results of negotiation into forms acceptable to the participants. Given that the process of deliberation and negotiation is required to result in rational solutions that are specifically concerned with the further "development" of society and its members, on face value it seems that the "common grounds" necessary should at least include: acceptance of a rational approach to decision-making, an appreciation of the relevance (and limitation) of (empirical) evidence, an understanding of the process of social change and a vision of a "better" society—and some comprehension of education's complexities.

It is very tempting to start conjecturing about how this task might be solved educationally, as presumably it would have to be. Clearly, present-day curricula are in general not well designed for such a purpose, neither probably are present-day methods. The implication then is that if society is to be prepared for a widespread "democratization" of educational planning, the time-span required is likely to be lengthy. So, presumably, would be the time-span necessary for "persuading" society to follow that path—for at least two reasons: (i) because it entails a shift in power, the powerful would have to be willing to legislate for their own redundancy, and (ii) because educational planning, no doubt responding to political demand, is characteristically geared for short-term planning only.

In bringing this latter issue to the surface, Hallak's paper has done considerable service. It raises an issue that is critical, whatever perspective in educational planning is adopted. Time is, indeed, of the essence. And clearly for the implementation of the Hallak scheme, long-term planning is imperative. It therefore requires a temporal model of planning that differs considerably from the kind of short-term contingency planning models that have contemporary currency. Such a long-term model might, however, have interesting implications for the way in which the Hallak model for the *process* of planning has been constructed. It is hard to imagine how long-term planning could survive if it were not apolitical—or, rather if the political component were not drastically changed in form. Whether that change in form might force a reconsideration of who the 'planning partners' ought to be, is something that the seminar may perhaps see fit to discuss.

Micro-educational decisions as a basis for macro-educational planning[1]

Douglas M. Windham

Given the recent economic decline in many nations and the concomitant erosion of public confidence in the products of schools and universities, it is not surprising that much effort is expended in attempts to assess blame for the perceived educational shortfalls. Responsibility for educational failures has been assigned at one time or another to students, the home, teachers, administrators, the school bureaucracy, and now the whole social economy within which education is placed. The last type of criticism has led to the rather stunning conclusion that all educational research and planning are futile and that significant improvements in school systems will occur only after social revolution brings forth a more enlightened citizenry.

While recognizing the obvious truth that educational systems inherently are intertwined with the larger social and economic systems of our nation and world, it is the dominant theme of this paper that educational research and planning, based upon a more detailed understanding of the mechanisms of individual decision-making within education, not only can but must make a contribution to the rationalization of the educational system. Once any part of the system is improved, the policy-maker and researcher can understand more easily the causes and effects of continuing inefficiencies and inequalities in the remainder of the system.

The educational system and its participants are not alone in their responsibility for educational failure. The behavioural sciences have yet to make the contribution, in terms of policy-relevant research, which is necessary to place education on a more rational basis. Educational psychologists have yet to evolve a theory of learning which can be used as a basis for allocative decisions by planners or teachers; sociologists have too often confused causality with correlation in work on the determinants and effects of educational access and attainment; political science research is still predominantly in a descriptive rather than diagnostic phase; and economists have tended to slight reality for quantifiability in their models of educational production. All of the social science disciplines are guilty of a tendency to deal excessively with aggregate phenomena. This is itself part of the general tendency to assume that educational decision-making is predominantly a centralized activity.

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[1] I would like to thank Charles Bidwell, Robert Dreeben, Philip Foster, and Alan Thomas, colleagues at the University of Chicago, for having read and commented on an earlier version of this paper.

The emphasis on input/output models, presented as production-function or path diagrams, has slighted the major conceptual issues while engaging in data collection and quantitative manipulation of the most questionable kind. The social science disciplines, despite their traditional emphasis on both theory and empiricism, have abandoned the former for the easier, less intellectually demanding, path represented by the latter. As a result, much of the present research in education is irrelevant for either advancing conceptual understanding or promoting practical implementation.

For example, in economics the basic techniques of rate-of-return or production-function analysis can be taught to a reasonably bright student in a matter of days if not hours; in fact, the plethora of such studies in recent years and the suspicious quality of so many suggests that this may be exactly what is occurring. But it is not the technique that is important; rather, one must be able to appreciate the larger methodological issues which surround such analysis.

The most significant aspects of these studies are not the statistical measures generated or the other explicit analyses, but the assumptions of both the data collection and the analytical approach. How many non-economists really appreciate the disclaimers and caveats stated and then rapidly passed over in the literature of the educational economists? How many economists realize in their own work the tenuous nature of findings which are based on data biased in a multitude of ways and inductive processes which require leaps of faith of greater than normal Kirkegaardian proportions? To study the educational research literature carefully is to come to appreciate how well social scientists are trained in methods and how poorly in methodology. Behavioural theory, the only comparative advantage of the social sciences over statistics and mathematics, has devolved to a point of near irrelevance in these studies except as an excuse for the empirical exercise itself.

Criticism of the complexity of the micro-educational approach to the analyses of educational processes may also be anticipated. Many individuals view as the task of science and scientific development to simplify the complex, to find general rules which bring order to a multitude of seemingly unrelated events. What is there to be gained from trading the simple educational models of the past—better resources make for better learning; more education is better; educational expansion fuels economic development—for the more complex *and provisional* ones to be presented here? Nothing except accuracy; and hope that future research and theorizing based upon an individualistic decision-making model will develop generalizations that are more powerful and more precise. The disciplinary fields of the social sciences have failed in the past to produce a practical consensus about theoretical models to be applied to education. One result of this failure has been the tendency to create a variety of *ad hoc* explanations for phenomena which, in fact, may be parts of a larger pattern. If this larger pattern turns out to be more complex or even more confusing to many than the extant simplistic explanations, complexity still is to be preferred to the simplistic or specious. One must study the complexity of education as it exists, while simultaneously developing a theoretical model of educational processes based upon the response of individuals to perceived incentives and information. This model should be designed to show how decision-making in education can be conducted in a manner that is both more rational in its conception and more realistic in its expectations. Centrist planners, no matter how much discretionary power they have, never determine the actual outcomes of policy. They can only set in action forces which they anticipate, with or without rational justification, will have certain effects. The effects themselves are the result of the millions of micro-decisions made by individuals who are responding to the planners' policies in terms of (1) the actual pattern of rewards (positive or negative) which their decision matrix presents and (2) their perception of this pattern. The second condition is at least as important as the first because the individuals' information about incentives determines the degree to which they will respond according to the planners' expectations. Of course, not all the incentives of a system, whether of the general economy or of education specifically, are created by planners. Yet no incentive, whether planned or not, can have an effect unless the individual decision-maker perceives and understands it. Thus, in the planning model to be developed, information flows and policy incentives are seen as the major forces determining planning success. This success is only in terms of the planner's achieving the desired incentive message; constant auditing of effects will be necessary to assure the planner that responses are in line with his expectations and that the responses remain those that he desires.

Personal accountability is at the core of any effective system of incentives. However, one must recognize that private assumption of the costs of a decision implies a prerequisite need for equitable public structuring of decision-making Individual decision-making is not simply a glass through which present social distortions will pass but, under certain conditions, it can become a lens through which extant injustices are magnified. The results of individual accountability will be in line with the established incentives; whether the motives for establishing these incentives and the effects of decisions based upon them will be "good" is a decision each individual will have to make. If one believes no change in education is meaningful until a transformation of society takes place, then incentive-based planning makes no more sense than any other kind. However, if one believes that improving rationality and explicitness in any sector of social behaviour can lead to immediate allocative improvements while simultaneously highlighting the remaining distributional questions, incentive-based programmes dependent upon individual accountability deserve serious consideration.

The emphasis in this paper upon the use of private incentive signals to affect individual behaviour is a natural evolution from the behaviourist assumptions which lie at the heart of neoclassical economic theory. Reinforcing this has been the recent work in the fields of public choice and the theory of bureaucracies. The major contribution of the public choice literature has been to clarify the previously implicit assumptions of the centrist rationale for public activity.[1] Even where democratic forces are at work, one of the major insights provided by public choice analysis has been to show the degree to which such political processes can deviate from the market optima or even equilibria. Such deviation is not itself evidence of policy error but does require that some justification exist for what are apparently actions reducing individual welfare or at least the welfare of one group for the benefit of another.

While public choice theory has set the stage, so to speak, the theory of bureaucracy has provided a conceptual vehicle to which specific analysis of behaviour in higher education may be joined. The most recent of these models in the work of Wintrobe[2] but the early contribution of Leibenstein[3] should not be discounted. The concept of "X-efficiency", which originates with Leibenstein, suggests that measures of effort rather than traditional measures of efficiency determine individual success within most organizations. It is the purpose of Wintrobe and his research counterparts to specify more directly what are the forces within an organization which lead to the type of behaviour observed by Leibenstein and others.

From this literature one can create a model of individual decision-making within an organization where each individual's response in a decision context is predicated upon formal guidelines:[4]

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1. P. A. Samuelson, "Diagrammatic exposition of a theory of public expenditure", *Review of economics and statistics*, Vol. 37, 1955, pp. 350-56; G. Tullock, "Problems of majority voting", *Journal of political economy*, Vol. 67, 1959, pp. 571-79; J. G. Head, "Public goods and public policy", *Public finance*, Vol. 17, 1962, pp. 197-221; M. Friedman, "The role of government in education", Chapter 6 of *Capitalism and freedom*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp. 85-107; S. Peltzman, "The effect of government subsidies-in-kind on private expenditures: the case of higher education", *Journal of political economy*, Vol. 81, January-February 1973, pp. 1-22; D. E. Campbell, "Income distribution under majority rule and alternative taxation criteria", *Public choice*, Vol. 22, Summer 1975, pp. 23-35; K. W. Roskamp, "Public goods, merit goods, private goods, Pareto optimum, and social optimum", *Public finance*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 1975, pp. 61-69; J. M. Buchanan, *The limits of liberty: between anarchy and Leviathan*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1975; E. K. Browning, "The externality argument for in-kind transfers: some critical remarks", *Kyklos*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 1975, pp. 526-44; E. K. Browning, "Tax reductions versus transfers in a public choice model", *Public finance quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1976, pp. 77-87; D. M. Windham, "Social benefits and the subsidization of higher education: a critique", *Higher education*, Vol. 5, 1976, pp. 237-52; R. D. Leiter and G. Sirkin (eds.), *Economics of public choice*, New York, Cyrco Press, Inc.. 1976.
2. R. Wintrobe, *The economics of bureaucracy*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1976.
3. H. Leibenstein, *Beyond economic man: a new foundation for microeconomics*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, Harvard University Press, 1976.
4. G. S. Becker, "Crime and punishment: an economic approach", *Journal of political economy*, March/April 1968.

(1) how closely are the decisions of the individual audited by those superior to him in the organization;
(2) what penalties attach to "wrong" decisions;
(3) what rewards attach to "correct" decisions;
(4) what rewards attach to the absence of individual decision-making, i.e., a straightforward following of existing rules and regulations.

The recent literature on bureaucracies suggests that under a "pure authority" system (Wintrobe's terminology) the superiors within an organization will attempt to discourage all innovation among their subordinates in decision-making matters. This can be achieved by increasing the probability of the subordinate being discovered (through increasing the auditing of individual decision-making), by an increase in the sanctions applied against decision-making on the basis of individual discretion rather than organizational regulations,[1] or a reduction in the potential rewards for a correct decision which is at variance with the decision that would have been arrived at through use of the regulations. Because of the unequal distribution of power which is inherent in the bureaucracy's hierarchical order, subordinates face much higher probability of receiving the blame for bad discretionary decisions and a much lower probability of receiving credit for any positive innovative decision. "Credit flows upward and blame downward", as the organizational cliché would have it.

In the pure authority system most workers will adhere to the rules and regulations very carefully, since only such adherence protects them from probabilities which are, on the net, negative. Only an employee with a great taste for risk will engage in discretionary behaviour in such a context. In such a system, the institutionalization of academic criteria for reasons of tradition or convenience is a very likely result; this is true both for the purposes of initial employment and placement as well as for promotions.

In his model, Wintrobe goes on to show that the pure authority system can involve serious inefficiencies in cases where decisions must be made concerning non-routine processes. The greater the variance from routine processes the greater will be the inefficiencies inherent in the pure authority system. Because such inefficiencies can be destructive of the organization if it operates in a competitive environment, pure authority systems are more characteristic of public and monopoly capitalist enterprises. In these cases the inherent inefficiencies of the authoritarian decision system can be accepted by those at the top of the authority hierarchy because the costs can be externalized to consumers, taxpayers, or users of the public programmes. The inefficiencies may be considered by the staff to be an acceptable cost for the stability of the organization. An additional factor affecting the public propensity for authoritative bureaucratic organization is the uncertain nature of the output of the education enterprise. In education, at whatever level, systems of accountability have been difficult to design precisely because of the vagueness and the multiplicity of the outputs of education. Without a system of accountability, it is impossible to differentiate between "good" and "bad" decisions and therefore employment, pay, and promotion must all be based upon some artificial criteria. At the extreme, initial employment becomes a situation synonymous with a life tenure agreement because superiors have no basis to remove an employee who follows the rules (whatever the result of such obedience). Superiors will be reluctant to introduce subjective evaluations because these same standards could then be applied by their own superiors. As a result, the bureaucracy rapidly creates its own *raison d'être*, emphasizing the benefits of the staff members, separate from whatever was the original mission for which society had chartered it.[1]

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[1] The restraint on individual discretion is the product of the net probability of reward/punishment and the degree of punishment/reward itself.

In systems where accountability is possible, the administrator has a variety of devices by means of which he can encourage his subordinates to make "better" discretionary decisions: a more systematic auditing of the results of decisions, stronger rewards and penalties, and an adjustment of basic payment systems away from a large fixed amount to one involving larger payments (commissions, bonuses, etc.) for specific achievements. It is interesting to note the convergence of interests between the demands of unionized workers and the bureaucratic form of organization. For whatever reason the early prohibitions in Western societies which barred the unionization of public employees were instituted at the time, these restrictions can now be seen to have a strong justification in the convergence of the anti-efficiency biases inherent in both union and bureaucratic behaviour. Similarly, anti-monopolistic legislation can be seen as a vital necessity in preventing the evolution of capitalist bureaucracies. The naive Galbraithian notions of the countervailing effects of union and company monopolism are invalidated in the recognition that unions, whether negotiating with capitalist or commissar, can externalize the costs for both themselves *and their employers* onto the general society.

This discussion of bureaucracies is relevant to the area of education in three ways. First, it helps one understand some of the internal operations of the educational system and why the educational establishment itself is rarely a source for productive change, dramatic or otherwise. Second, the bureaucratic model is valuable in understanding how administrators of educational systems establish incentives for the decisions individual students must make about alternatives in education. Third, the bureaucratic model can clarify some of the seeming anomalies concerning the employment and earnings of graduates by illustrating why some firms' policies towards employees are inconsistent with that assumed by most educational planners.

[1] Some might well argue that the bureaucratic organization has an advantage over accountability systems in that it places less emotional pressure on the individual. It would be interesting to see evidence as to how true this assertion really is (it may not be the case when members of the bureaucracy recognize the inequity of their position *vis-à-vis* productivity). In any case, the benefits of reduced emotional costs which accrue to staff would have to be matched against the concomitant costs of inefficiency in operation.

Within all of these, the role of information to decision-makers may be seen as crucial. Information, as any other factor of production, must be cost-effective, i.e., it must be the least-cost means of achieving a desired end. In some contexts, decisions should be made without full information because the marginal cost of the increment in information will not be justified by its cost. It is proper to suggest here that many of the manpower-planning activities and investment statistic estimates made by planners and researchers violate this criterion themselves. The marginal policy value they have may be too slight to justify their cost. When one imputes the additional cost of probable misinterpretation or misuse of the results of such research (for political or other purposes), the whole education research/information process becomes subject to accountability questions itself. The issue here is not whether research can be valuable but whether researchers and planners have been realistic and careful in their assessment of the research needs for their systems.

The role of information in this discussion of incentive-based planning will relate to this problem. The planner will be seen to have three main operational alternatives:

1. Improving the flow of information to higher educational consumers/decision-makers concerning the non-controlled results of higher education (e.g., wage scales or employment probabilities by course of study).
2. Improving the flow of information about or altering the impact of government-controlled incentive effects (subsidization, prerequisites for and length of degree programmes, or public employment, pay, and promotion policies).
3. Creating totally new incentive patterns by alteration of existing educational policies.

The relative importance of alternative one to alternatives two and three will vary depending upon the importance of the public role in the society's economy. In developed economies with a relatively articulated labour market infrastructure and a predominance of non-public employment, the public educational planner can achieve great advances simply by improving the flow of information to the individual decision-makers. To the extent that the public sector dominates in either the provision of higher education or the employment of graduates, the planner has the opportunity to affect both the incentives themselves and the informational flow about the incentives to the potential users of the system.

To illustrate the three ways in which bureaucratic theory may be useful in educational planning, the following discussion will concentrate on the higher-educational level. One can begin by studying the internal organization of higher education in a competitive market as opposed to a bureaucratic context. In a market system of higher education two effects would predominate given the exclusion of monopolistic forces. First, the forms of higher education would be more varied and the units of organization relatively small to reflect the variety of consumption and investment outputs desired by purchasers of the higher-education product. Because of the pressures of competition, educational firms would be more responsive to the demands of individual students both in provision of instructional methods and courses of study. A "pure authority" bureaucratic educational organization could evolve only if some institution were able to create a degree of monopolistic control over higher education or a specific curricular field, e.g., law or medicine. It is one of the regrettable characteristics of the provision of higher education within the "Western democracies" that at present they represent much the worst effects from both market and centrist control systems. Rather than the attractive atomism described above, the U.S. and Western European systems combine state subsidization with greater or lesser amounts of curricular supervision, with the result that the taxpayers support a system which they find increasingly hard either to understand or control. Graduates of the system are faced with a relatively competitive labour market, with the result that errors in educational decision-making accrue to the unemployed or under-employed graduate as well as to the taxpayer.

In the non-market model of higher education common to Eastern Europe and other socialist areas, the public sector both provides higher education and controls the employment activities of society. This system is, in fact, a more rationally consistent approach to the higher-educational system than is the mixed public subsidization—private employment model. Chuprunov and Tul'chinskii[1] note quite clearly that in the USSR "the planning of higher education . . . is an essential part of national economic planning" and express the rather optimistic view that "A planned socialist system makes it objectively possible to guide progress on a reliable scientific basis." Higher education can be truly controlled or planned completely only within a social context of general economic control. Educational failures, which are most visible in economies where publicly financed graduates are faced with a relatively open market for their abilities, are less obvious in centrist economies. The bureaucratic inefficiencies already noted in authority systems, pure or otherwise, assure that planning in such centrist economies will be less "objective" and less "scientific" than planners may wish to admit. The cost of the inefficiencies will not be visible as unemployment but will exist as the no less real and important phenomena of under-employment and productive inefficiencies. In fact, the only argument for such centrally-based planning is the distributive advantage that the expense of educational failure is absorbed by a large group of consumers/taxpayers rather than by the individual graduates. The contention of this paper is that the improved use of individual responsibility in higher educational decision-making would reduce the present inefficiencies without necessarily forgoing the present distributive advantages.

It has been suggested that the participants in the educational hierarchy are rarely the motivaters for dramatic change. It can now be seen that in the cases of monopolistic private systems or public provision of higher education, this innovational stagnation is but a special case of the normal inertia of bureaucratic organization. The primary danger is that systems of higher education, even if originally organized in a manner appropriate to the perceived needs of the time, will be slow to adapt to the changing demands upon higher education over time. Findings of low determinacy between the factors of education and expected outcomes have too often been generalized to the conclusion that "education" cannot have the desired effects. This misinterpretation is based upon a failure to appreciate the fact that the data base of such studies has allowed such a narrow range of variance in inputs (which are themselves poorly specified) that only marginal changes are seen as unproductive.[1] The alternatives of innovative combinations of inputs or the institution of new technologies are ignored in such pessimistic conclusions about the ability of education to produce desired changes. In summary, the pessimism concerning educational development is more properly directed to the practical difficulties of bringing about educational change than to the possibility that all change is fruitless.

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[1] D. Chuprunov et L. Tul'chinskii, "USSR: economic planning and the financing of higher education", in *Educational cost analysis in action: case studies for planners—I*, Paris, Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1972.

To illustrate the role of the latter two effects of bureaucracy in higher education, Figure 1 presents a simplified model of a higher education incentive/information system. Although errors of excessive simplification are unavoidable in any schematic of this type, the model presented here does come much closer to capturing the complexity of influences which determine educational decision-making at various points in the education/employment progression than do the manpower-planning or social-demand models which have dominated heretofore. And yet this model avoids the inherent impotence of a totally recursive model wherein every factor is seen to affect every other factor.

The model begins before the higher educational process because, as is seen in the models of higher educational attainment, one of the most important determinants of higher-education effects is the student input. Here, all previous family, innate, and significant peer effects are incorporated with the pre-tertiary educational effects to produce a group of potential higher education students with a given distribution of abilities, cognitive and non-cognitive. In the "market" for admission to higher education the individual students may have a free, constrained, or unitary choice of institution and field of study. The demand determinants will depend on the family income, etc., as shown in the standard attainment model.

One factor not present explicitly in the earlier model but which is explicit here is the importance of the flow of information from higher education, the labour market, and research and planning activities to the individual decision-maker (student, parent, or administrator). An important research question is the amount of such information which is received and the degree to which it enters into the decision-making process. Many higher-educational decisions appear to be made with little calculation of the eventual use to which higher-educational attributes are to be put after graduation. It is in such a context

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1. For example, the finding that class size, which in a sample varies only from 25 to 40, is not related to gains in a measure of cognitive achievement is hardly a conclusion transferable to educational systems where class sizes deviate greatly from this range.

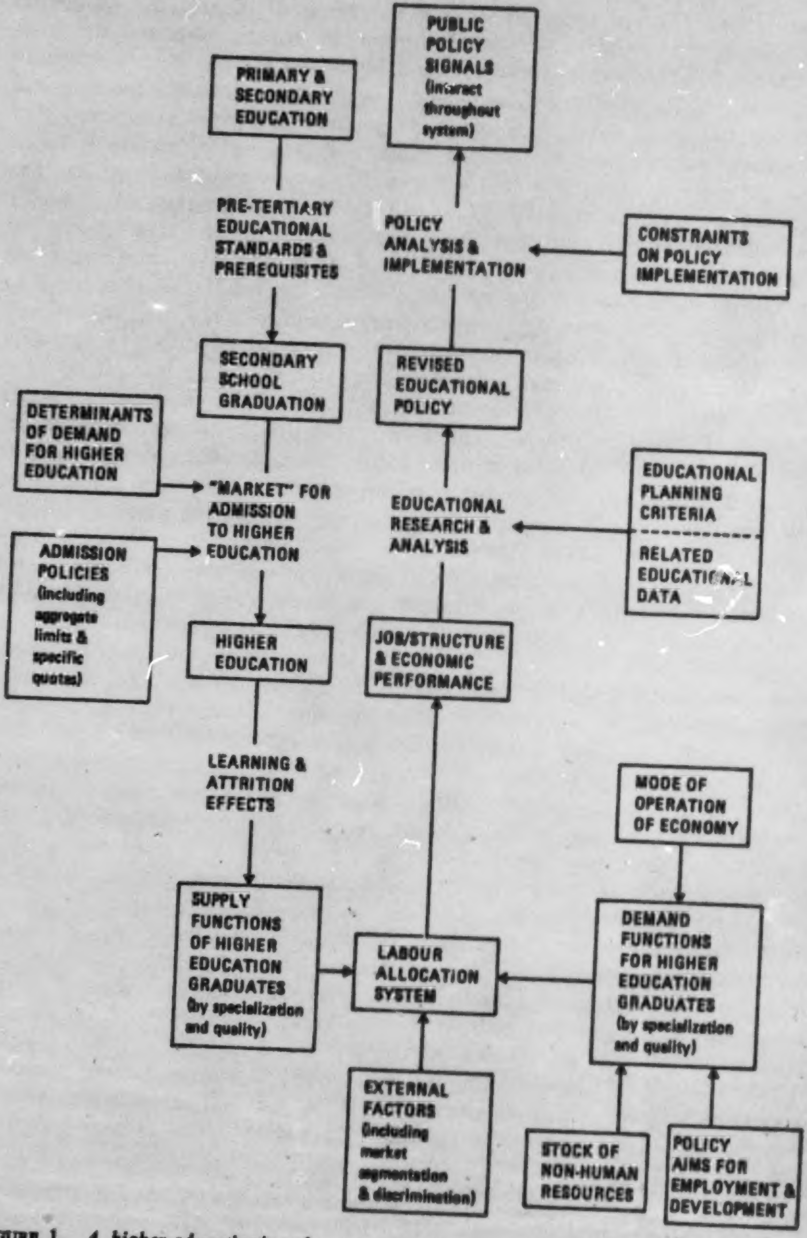
PUBLIC POLICY SIGNALS (interact throughout system)
PRIMARY & SECONDARY EDUCATION
PRE-TERTIARY EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS & PREREQUISITES
POLICY ANALYSIS & IMPLEMENTATION
CONSTRAINTS ON POLICY IMPLEMENTATION
SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADUATION
REVISED EDUCATIONAL POLICY
DETERMINANTS OF DEMAND FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
"MARKET" FOR ADMISSION TO HIGHER EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
EDUCATIONAL PLANNING CRITERIA
RELATED EDUCATIONAL DATA
ADMISSION POLICIES (including aggregate limits & specific quotas)
HIGHER EDUCATION
JOB/STRUCTURE & ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE
LEARNING & ATTRITION EFFECTS
MODE OF OPERATION OF ECONOMY
SUPPLY FUNCTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION GRADUATES (by specialization and quality)
LABOUR ALLOCATION SYSTEM
DEMAND FUNCTIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION GRADUATES (by specialization and quality)
EXTERNAL FACTORS (including market segmentation & discrimination)
STOCK OF NON-HUMAN RESOURCES
POLICY AIMS FOR EMPLOYMENT & DEVELOPMENT

FIGURE 1. *A higher-education/employment model.*

as this that rewards and sanctions can be instituted to improve either the convergence of private with public preferences or at least the private assumption of the costs of decisions which are not consonant with public goals. If higher-educational costs are heavily subsidized and students are free to choose institutions and courses of study, then a wedge is driven between the individual criteria for investment and the public criteria. The result will normally be that more individuals engage in higher education than is socially optimal at the point in time and they engage in courses of study which do not reflect the economic requirements of the labour market. The subsidy underwrites the cost not only of free choices but of erroneous or at least careless ones.

The incentives are further clouded if public employment policies are sending out a signal that educational specialization is meaningless in terms of employment and economic success. The work on the U.S. by Freeman[1] has indicated that students, even within highly but not totally subsidized higher-education systems, do adjust to the signals of a relatively free labour market and change specializations to meet changes in demand. In this process they are limited by the amount and accuracy of information, its cost, their own aspirations and preferences, their time discount, and the opportunity for making discretionary judgements.

The planner who himself must make decisions affecting the educational order of society will face the same decision calculus. However, the more distant the planner/administrator is from the actual event to be decided, the less exact and relevant will be the data base upon which decisions are made. In higher-educational planning the defect in a centrally administered system of any appreciable size works in both directions. Not only is the administrator not fully informed but also his instructions to subordinates will become less clear the more distant they are from him. The parents and students who are making higher-educational decisions (even if they are only residual decisions about acceptance of an offer of admission or how much effort to put into studies) may fail to receive or may misinterpret the administrator's actions. While these problems can be alleviated to a degree by decentralization, many governments may feel that they do not have an adequate supply of qualified personnel to allow such a devolution of command. It is paradoxical that governments fail to take advantage of the individual's decision-making ability at the personal level where decision-making is easiest and then are forced to centralize the decision-making more and more because the very nature of aggregation makes the decision process more complex.

An important attribute of Figure 1 is that the analytical emphasis can be placed upon the areas of action—the "flow" arrows between the boxes—more than on the static identification of the amounts within the boxed areas. The interaction of individual supply and demand forces—controlled by the market or administered policy; the learning and attrition effects within higher education—especially their cost-effectiveness compared to alternative educational forms; the interaction of supply and demand forces in the market for graduate employment—again, whether market or publicly controlled; the findings of educational research and analysis—including the crucial tasks of auditing the patterns of graduate recruitment, pay, and promotion and detailing higher educational unit costs; and the analysis of previous policy standards where required: all of these are the research and planning tasks which this simplified diagrammatic model stresses. Obviously, the more direct control exerted by government over these activities, the more secondary will personal higher educational decisions become. But individual decision-making will always be important because only the individual controls his educational effort and his use of the acquired educational advantages.

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[1] R. B. Freeman, *The market for college-trained manpower: a study in the economics of career choice*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

From the traditional discussion of the proper role of the public sector in any economic activity, one can formulate the educational programmes which government can legitimately undertake even within an otherwise competitive free enterprise system. It may be necessary to protect students from possible educational fraud by proprietary institutions; the government may need, in an emergent economy, to create the infrastructure for efficient allocation within the labour market; and it may be necessary to sponsor research both on educational effects and on the results from the implementation of previous governmental policy. Finally, there is one area in all economies where a crucial role remains to be played and government may well have to be the catalysing agent: the generation and distribution of information.

Much of the information concerning education and the labour market will be casually generated and distributed and therefore subject to error in fact as well as inequality in incidence. A major source of casual information upon which individuals will be basing their decisions about higher education will be the working of the labour market and the resulting structure of occupational rewards and status. The factors in a decision may be viewed as dichotomous: cost effects and benefit effects. The benefits effect in higher-education decisions will include the immediate consumption aspects of education as well as the long-run benefits to the educated person as a consumer and family member. However, one may expect the benefits calculation for most persons to be dominated by the perceived monetary and non-monetary returns from employment.

The biases that exist in the casual labour market information system are likely to be in the direction of overstating possible employment and pay. The student in the rural village is more likely to hear of the urban success story than of the urban failure. Even if the employment and pay probabilities are generally correct one must also consider the tendency of individuals to overestimate their own chances for success.

The educational calculus can lead to especially unfortunate results when the other part of the equation—costs—is quite low. In theory the citizen should realize that he will pay taxes in the future to finance higher education for others but this is rarely considered in the citizen's support for subsidized higher education and is irrelevant at the margin in his personal decision to go to a college or university. With very low costs attached to the higher-educational-attendance decision, the normal response of students will be to attend even if probable benefits are small. Thus, the subsidization allows the student to externalize the costs of "bad" educational decisions to the public taxpayer. If the society also provides substantial employment guarantees for graduates even if their training is not actually needed or if unemployment insurance programmes exist, the student is allowed to externalize the results of his poor educational choice even further.

Poor information and educational subsidization also explain another phenomenon common to higher education: overproduction of graduates and yet continuing shortages in terms of quality and in certain specializations. If the labour market information received by students fails to articulate the difference in demand for graduates by quality and specialization, and subsidies are generalized rather than specific to the areas of high demand, it is hardly surprising that the graduates produced are not the graduates required. The bureaucratization of employment policies will also aggravate this problem because the pay and promotion system may not provide differential rewards in terms of quality or specialization. In this instance, the labour market *is* transmitting clear information; it is the employment policy itself which is counter-productive.

This discussion of Figure 1 has been designed to show the complexity of the environment within which the higher-educational planner works. Many of the factors that influence individual decisions concerning higher education may be unknown or poorly understood by the planner. Most of the factors that influence these decisions will be outside the planner's own control. But even with these reservations the planner within an education ministry has a much larger variety of possible controls over decision-making than has been appreciated heretofore (and the economic planner with a responsibility for the educational sector has an even greater range of options). Costs, admission policies (aggregate limits, specific quotas for social groups and areas of study), requirements for graduation, and information about labour market rewards are some of the main "levers" controlled by the educational planner. The economic planner can also consider the employment-pay-promotion policies of the public sector as a variable, the aggregate flow of funds to higher education, the improvement of the labour market infrastructure, changes in general, as well as educational, development policy aims. Where either type of planner may not have the discretion to control any of the above, he does have the ability to suggest change and *must* consider the effects of all the above in determining new policy directions.

Again, an example is the quickest way to illustrate this point. In a non-hypothetical society, there recently existed the problem (common to many other societies) of excessive numbers of graduates from Arts programmes and inadequate numbers of graduates from the Science and Technology stream in higher education. Adding to the government's concern was the fact that rural secondary-school graduates very rarely progressed to the Science and Technology streams at the tertiary level. This tendency was disturbing in that national social policy required a greater equality of representation in all occupations by those ethnic groups which were predominant in rural areas and this could not be achieved if all rural students remained in the Art stream. Moral suasion was attempted through speeches and policy pronouncements in an attempt to alter the flow of these students but no appreciable change in student choices was seen to occur. Finally, a study was proposed of the incentive structure facing potential university students from rural areas. The study had the dual purposes of understanding the rural students' present decision-making and of possibly uncovering some effective means of bringing about the desired policy ends.

An extensive list of possible incentive signals was compiled. Among the factors which were capable of leading to the observed pattern of enrolment and of course-of-study choices were the following:

1. Maths and science preparation in rural schools was such that rural graduates were less well prepared than urban graduates for the requirements of Science and Technology coursework.
2. All subsidies of higher education were unrestricted in terms of fields of study and covered almost all costs of higher education except forgone earnings.
3. Student failure rates were dramatically lower in the Arts stream than in Science and Technology, especially for the rural ethnic group.
4. Almost no faculty from the ethnic group predominant in rural areas were teaching in Sciences and Technology but these faculty were a majority of those teaching in the Arts programmes.
5. A much lower number of "honours" awards were made to graduates in Science and Technology than in Arts.
6. Science and Technology programmes required an extra year of studies beyond the number required in the Arts stream.
7. The pay system of public employment (the major employer of all graduates) rewarded years of service and "honours" graduation but not fields of specialization.
8. Because of the shortage of Science and Technology graduates, Arts graduates were found to be more likely to hold administrative positions and to advance more quickly within the administrative bureaucracy.

It is not as rare as one may think to find examples such as the above where public policy creates a set of incentives which, in their combined effect, run counter to a major policy aim of the government. Here, the rural student finds costs high in Science and Technology (poor personal background in this academic field, high failure rates, almost all faculty from another ethnic group, low probabilities of honours, extra year of study, and less opportunity for administrative position) and no differential rewards to offset these costs. One can well wonder not why so few rural students went into Science and Technology but why any went at all.

One should not be misled into seeing the value of the incentive approach to planning as only a means of explaining away seeming anomalies in the operation of the educational system. The analysis also emphasizes, as did Figure 1, the variety of tactics which are available to the planner. Of course, the planner could set up a coercive system which—arbitrarily or not—selects a certain number of rural students and forcefully places them in the Science and Technology stream. But a more efficient and equitable solution may be achieved by neutralizing or reversing any one or a combination of the present incentive signals. It would thus be possible to bring the educational output more in line with that desired by government while simultaneously increasing individual freedom of choice. Especially important is that, in contrast to a coercive realignment, the rural students choosing to go into Science and Technology under the new incentive system would be those students with a comparative advantage in this field and thus represent a maximum gain for the one field of specialization and a minimum loss for the other.

The incentive analysis approach to planning can thus be seen to have both a diagnostic and perspective aspect. It is useful in analysing why certain patterns of behaviour exist and then in determining the redirection of educational policy to bring results more in line with larger government policy. A final word should be said about the planner's role. The planner of higher education operates in an environment of information signals which are either casual or deliberate. The planning environment of higher education consists of those factors over which the planner has direct control, those over which he has no control whatever, and those over which he has control of the transmission of information to educational decision-makers but not its content. The planner must make two types of decisions: what type of effect he wishes to create and what vehicle—informational or incentive—is the most cost-effective to bring about the desired effect.

In conclusion, there are two points that run throughout this paper. First, planning activities must be grounded in an understanding of the social economic forces acting upon *individuals*, i.e., the incentives faced by the decision makers. Second, the incentive-based model is applicable in any social or economic setting and does not require acceptance of either a capitalist or collectivist view of the world. One thing is certain among all of the variety of societies and educational systems: individuals will continue to react to the incentives that they perceive, and planning which is not based on an active identification of these incentives and their effects is doomed to either futility or counterproductivity.

Comments

Ta Ngoc Châu, IIEP

The paper by Windham puts forward two criticisms: one on research undertaken to date concerning educational planning, and the second on the organization and methods of this planning. It also formulates a new approach to educational planning, to which the following comments are mainly addressed. Nevertheless, in the first place, it might be useful to summarize briefly these criticisms.

As concerns research, the criticism is very wide. In the field of economics of education, the fragility of manpower-need projections, the imprudent and sometimes mechanical use of cost/benefit analysis, constitute more of a danger than a real contribution towards planning. Within the field of educational psychology, a theory of learning still needs to be put forward. Finally, as regards social sciences, the fashion for empirical research, a certain weakness in methodology and the haphazard character of information collection, have hardly advanced our knowledge as concerns concept and theory.

The organization and methods of planning are characterized in many situations by centralism and bureaucracy; a centralism which creates more and more complex decision-making procedures, and a bureaucracy which slows down possible innovations, leads towards an inefficient use of resources, helps to cover up wrong decisions and finally imposes these wrong decisions on society, the taxpayers, or the school-leavers, victims of unemployment and under-employment.

Under these circumstances, it is essential to find a new approach to educational planning. This approach is based on a simple evidence: "Centrist planners, no matter how much discretionary power they have, never determine the actual outcomes of policy. They can only set in action forces which they anticipate, with or without rational justification, will have certain effects. The effects themselves are the result of the millions of micro-decisions made by individuals who are responding to the planners' policies in terms of (1) the actual pattern of rewards (positive or negative) which their decision matrix presents and (2) their perception of this pattern."

Further on, the author continues: "It is paradoxical that governments fail to take advantage of the individual's decision-making ability at the personal level where decision-making is easiest and then are forced to centralize the decision-making more and more because the very nature of aggregation makes the decision process more complex."

Consequently, it becomes a question of trying to find a system which helps to improve the convergence of private with public preferences, or *at least to make*

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individuals bear the brunt of those decisions they take which are not consonant with public goals. This can be arrived at by developing further the circulation of information and by creating a system of incentives which might orient individual decisions towards a direction wanted by the "planner". Such a system would evidently suppose a constant control of the effects of these incentives in order to ensure that the answers to the incentives correspond to what the "planner" expected and that the results are what he wanted.

This is a résumé of the approach proposed by Windham. In his opinion, this approach "is applicable in any social or economic setting and does not require acceptance of either a capitalist or collectivist view of the world. One thing is certain among all of the variety of societies and educational systems: individuals will continue to react to the incentives that they perceive and planning which is not based on an active identification of these incentives and their effects is doomed to either futility or counter-productivity".

Naturally, the author has his own preferences. In the field of higher education, which he has used principally to illustrate his approach, it seems that he would favour more a predominance of private educational institutions. He says: "One can begin by studying the internal organization of higher education in a competitive market as opposed to a bureaucratic context. In a market system of higher education, two effects would predominate given the exclusion of monopolistic forces. First the forms of higher education would be more varied and the units of organization relatively small to reflect the variety of consumption and investment outputs desired by purchasers of the higher education product. Because of the pressures of competition, educational firms would be more responsive to the demands of individual students both in provision of instructional methods and courses of study."

He would also support a system in which a substantial part of the costs is borne by those who actually benefit from the education. "If higher educational costs are heavily subsidized and students are free to choose institutions and courses of study, then a wedge is driven between the individual criteria for investment and the public criteria. The result will normally be that more individuals engage in higher education than is socially optimal at the point in time and they engage in courses of study which do not reflect the economic requirements of the labour market. The subsidy underwrites the cost not only of free choices, but of erroneous or at least careless ones."

It would doubtless be interesting to discuss the intrinsic merits of Windham's approach, the theoretical foundations on which it is based and the implicit hypotheses; but it would be even more interesting to analyse its political implications.

Schematically, and still using the example of higher education, it might be said that Windham's approach implies three different decision-making centres: the State (or the planner?), the university institutions, and the students and their families. Let us look successively at what, according to him, are the role of the State, the responsibility of the university institutions, and the behaviour of the students.

The role of the State is fourfold:

(1) it defines the educational policy, and here two questions immediately come to mind: (a) How is educational policy formulated? If reference is made to Windham's diagram, it would appear that information and research play an essential part. It would also appear that in the implementation of this policy, constraints must be taken into account. However, Windham is not very explicit on this point. (b) What does this educational policy cover? Is it simply a matter

of monitoring the educational system so that the number of leavers adjusts itself to the needs of the economy and the society, or does it mean going further and considering the more general problems such as educational and social inequalities?

(2) it centralizes and diffuses information

(3) it implements a system of incentives and signals destined to orient the decisions taken by the university institutions and the students

(4) it is also there "to protect students from possible educational fraud by proprietary institutions; . . . to create, in an emergent economy, the infrastructure for efficient allocation within the labour market; and . . . to sponsor research on both educational effects and on the results from the implementation of previous governmental policy".

The university institutions have considerable responsibility. On the basis of incentives and eventually of the grants received, they define their teaching programme, implement innovations and introduce new teaching technologies. They calculate as precisely as possible the costs of different types of training programmes and fix the contribution to be made by the students and their families. Yet, although the decision powers of university institutions are considerable, the latter remain completely passive in their relationship with the State. They accept as such the incentives which are given them. This merits being reviewed within the context of certain developing countries where the number of university institutions can be very low, if not in certain cases limited to one.

The behaviour of the students and the families is responsible. From the information which they have, and which should be made available to them, they take their decision. "The factors in (this) decision may be viewed as dichotomous: cost effects and benefit effects. The benefits effect in higher-education decisions will include the immediate consumption aspects of education as well as the long-run benefits to the educated person as a consumer and family member. However, one may expect the benefits calculation for most persons to be dominated by the perceived monetary and non-monetary returns from employment."

However, it is essential that the student cannot make others pay for a bad decision which he has taken. "The educational calculus can lead to especially unfortunate results when . . .—costs—are quite low. In theory the citizen should realize that he will pay taxes in the future to finance higher education for others but this is rarely considered in the citizen's support for subsidized higher education and is irrelevant at the margin in his personal decision to go to a college or university. With very low costs attached to the higher-educational attendance decision, the normal response of students will be to attend even if probable benefits are small. Thus, the subsidization allows the student to externalize the costs of 'bad' educational decisions to the public taxpayer. If the society also provides substantial employment guarantees for graduates even if their training is not actually needed or if unemployment insurance programmes exist, the student is allowed to externalize the results of his poor educational choice even further."

Such is the world in which the approach to educational planning based on incentives evolves, a world in which one of the greatest worries is to avoid mistakes in decisions, whether they are made by a bureaucratic management or by the students, being externalized to others than those who made them.

"Personal accountability is at the core of any effective system of incentives." The author does add immediately, but without developing it very far: "However, one must recognize that private assumption of the costs of a decision implies a prerequisite need for equitable public structuring of decision-making".

Bearing in mind what has been said above, I feel that we should not only discuss the approach as a whole, proposed by Windham, but also try to relate this approach to certain fundamental problems, such as: decentralization, bureaucracy, private education, free education, and finally educational equality.

With regard to the problems of decentralization and bureaucracy, the main question in my view is not so much examining the eventual advantages of such a decentralization, or identifying the disadvantages of a bureaucratic management. Already much has been written on this subject, and it is perhaps not really necessary to come back to to it. On the other hand, it might well be worth while discussing more deeply the following sort of questions:

From whom do administrative reforms originate, and in whose interest are they made?

Why do administrative reforms fail?

Why is it that certain decentralizations have resulted only in replacing one bureaucracy by another?

What are the obstacles for introducing new management techniques and how have certain bureaucracies managed to overcome them by denaturing their initial objectives?

In all events, it is hardly realistic to speak of decentralization without referring to history, to administrative traditions, and to the political context of a particular country.

As regards educational financing, if it is true that public financing of higher education leads to the taxpayers as a whole paying for a service which benefits mainly the already privileged classes, it is not less true that the transfer of this financing to the families would result in access to education becoming even more difficult for the less privileged classes. Grant systems as they exist and function at present, student loan systems, have contributed only very slightly to the reduction of inequality in access to higher education.

As concerns the place which should be given to private education on the level of higher education, it might be interesting to study, in such countries as Japan or Colombia where this sort of education is particularly developed, the real role played by the various types of private education (since this education is far from being homogeneous), the clientèle it serves, the branches of education it offers, and the jobs and career prospects of their graduates.

New tasks in planning the development and reform of education:

implications for training, administrative organization and research[1]

Hans N. Weiler

This paper reflects on the recent history and present state of a remarkable effort: the attempt to overcome educational under-development through an institutionalized mechanism for the planning of educational development. Over the last twenty years or so most countries in the "third" world have adopted some form of educational planning and set up organizational units for this purpose. Blessed with the kind of affluence that appeared to make anticipatory resource management less imperative, western industrialized countries have on the whole been more reluctant to develop institutionalized forms of educational planning, while the socialist world has always seen planning as the most adequate way of organizing the state's responsibility for the future of society.

The reflections contained in this paper are largely limited to the experience of institutionalized educational planning in the developing world and to the kinds of questions and dilemmas which this experience appears to have generated over the last few years; they are likely, however, to bear upon similar experiences in other parts of the world as well.

The main argument of the paper is that the tasks which educational planning faces have changed substantially or are in the process of changing, largely as a result of shifting policy concerns and of planning experience, and that this change is likely to introduce new perspectives into (a) the training of planning and administrative personnel, (b) the organizational arrangements under which the tasks of educational planning are being performed, and (c) the research work needed to provide the planning effort with an adequate knowledge base. The structure of the paper follows this argument: the first part will discuss the changing tasks of educational planning, while the remaining parts will be devoted to the training, organizational and research implications of these changes, respectively.

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1. Since this paper was written some of its points have been further developed in Hans N. Weiler, "Towards a political economy of educational planning", in *Prospects*, Vol. III. No. 4 (Winter 1978), and "Education and development: from the age of innocence to the age of scepticism", in *Comparative education*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (November 1978).

I. Towards new tasks in educational planning

To take stock in 1977 of the "state of the art" in educational planning leads to two overall observations: (a) the principles, methods, philosophies and techniques of educational planning vary from one country to the next more than they ever have; and (b) this variation notwithstanding, the "art" or craft of educational planning as a whole is no longer what it was in the late fifties or sixties but is gradually moving towards a different set of tasks.

Among those countries that have adopted some institutionalized form of educational planning the diversity of approaches to the task of planning future educational systems is increasing rather than decreasing. Where many countries, especially in the developing regions of the world, started out with the adoption of a relatively simple and straightforward model of establishing the desired output patterns of an educational system, and the flow patterns leading to it, on the basis of some projection of future manpower needs, the last fifteen or twenty years have introduced considerable variation and modification of this original model on the one hand, and a number of other models, on the other. Experience in planning, a better understanding of the complexities in the relationship between education and social, political and economic change, and the resulting doubts about the suitability of some of the original assumptions in educational planning have all contributed to a process of reflection, change and new departures in the planning of educational development.

To be sure, some of these changes are sufficiently experimental or tentative to warrant careful further attention before being accepted as major trends in the development of educational planning as a whole. It is as yet difficult, for example, to distinguish between rhetoric and reality as regards popular participation in educational planning ("participatory educational planning"), but there is no question about there being a rather widespread turn of attention to the "micro" aspects of educational planning in general—a development which calls for a close examination of some of our more "macro"-oriented assumptions in the training of educational planning personnel.

A. Educational planning as social research

Not surprisingly, one of the lessons learned by educational planners has been that educational systems do not develop according to plans, but as a result of a complex set of social, political and economic factors such as status aspirations, group interests, the influence of large enterprises, etc. The failure of many plans for the development of educational systems is directly attributable to their authors' being oblivious to or ignorant of this complex set of conditions. It is therefore increasingly recognized that one of the most vital tasks of those in charge of educational planning is to develop a rather thorough understanding of the patterns and strength of the various factors that are likely to affect the chances of success of any given educational policy. It is becoming a poor planning posture to consider education as an "independent variable": the interplay of social status, political power and economic wealth draws a very narrow line around the ability of educational systems to become an autonomous lever of development of any kind. To maximize whatever limited leverage education thus has requires systematic social inquiry as one of the planner's first and most important tasks.

The relationship between the educational system and the world of work is a case in point. We know by now that our conventional models of projecting the necessary growth of educational systems on the basis of projecting the manpower needs of the production system has been inadequate, largely because it has neglected characteristics, requirements and expectations of the production system that go beyond the broad skill parameters of the occupational classifications used in most manpower projections. It is thus necessary for the educational planner to have a much more thorough understanding of the non-cognitive as well as cognitive, the attitudinal as well as the know-how aspects and requirements of works in different production settings.

B. Planning the distribution of education

Faced with the problem of extremely low rates of schooling in many of the developing countries, educational planning developed at the outset an understandable preoccupation with the need for growth—growth in the sense of an aggregate increase in the number of school places and in the proportion of age-cohorts attending school, and with the various statistical indicators derived from or contributing to this aggregate. While the problem of achieving an adequate capacity of the educational system has by no means been solved in many countries, a second policy concern has moved up alongside this original attention to growth. This second concern considers not just the overall volume of educational opportunity and services, but also the way in which these services and opportunities are distributed across the population along regional, social, ethnic, age or sex lines.

While this distributive aspect of educational development has become in many countries an important item on the agenda of policy-makers, educational planning, still very much under the influence of a more aggregate, growth-oriented notion, has been slow to develop concepts, methods and techniques for the design and implementation of plans which take existing disparities into account and are designed in such a way as to overcome them. Clearly, this is not just a task of disaggregating overall figures of schools, students, teachers, etc. The more important (and more difficult) aspect of this distribution-oriented task in educational planning is the identification of the factors that account for such disparities as are found to exist, and the resulting effort to take these factors into account in designing new educational plans which are geared towards greater equality. Again, beyond the substantial amount of descriptive information needed on the present pattern of distribution in educational services, a major diagnostic research effort is required in order to understand why certain groups in a population find it difficult not only to enter into an educational programme, but also to persist and succeed in it.

C. *Quantity, quality and content in educational planning*

It is probably fair to say that educational planning has so far been primarily concerned with how many people enter into, pass through, and re-emerge from the various sectors and levels of education, and not really with what happens to them in the course of this process. It has been assumed that graduates of the educational system have certain qualifications which make them employable or otherwise useful, but it has never been an explicit concern of educational planning to inquire into the conditions under which certain specified outputs or outcomes of the educational process are being achieved.

However, there is a growing recognition among educational planners that the anticipation and the planning of the flow of people through the various components of an educational system cannot be separated from anticipating and planning the kind of learning experience to which they are thereby exposed. In other words, educational planners are beginning to face up to the need to become cognizant of the factors that account for different qualitative outcomes of the educational process so as to be able to plan for the reinforcement of those factors which contribute to desired educational outcomes while diminishing or eliminating those factors which can be shown to lead to undesired outcomes—the criteria for what is or is not desirable obviously stemming from the objectives which the country has set for itself.

With regard to such a more comprehensive, outcome-oriented concern in planning the future of educational systems, the scarcity of firm knowledge about what determines educational outcomes is an obvious handicap. It is here again that educational planners are in need of further research on the processes by which changes in educational systems lead to changes or improvements in educational outcomes.

D. *Educational planning at sub-national levels*

One of the questions that has been rarely asked in educational planning (mainly because the answer was taken for granted) has been: where does educational planning take place? It has been generally assumed that educational planning is a function which is closely attached to the national decision-making authority and is therefore located at the centre or the apex of the political and administrative system. To be sure, some systems with a more federal character have for some time known planning mechanisms at the level of state government (Republics in the USSR, States in Nigeria, the Federal Republic of Germany or Brazil). By and large, however, the prevailing model of educational planning has been that of an activity carried out at the central level, even though there has always been, with or without attention by planning specialists, a considerable amount of planning activity at levels below the national centre of decision-making. Even where a central, national plan for the development of education was the only visible expression of educational planning in a country, a great deal of less visible subsidiary planning usually took place at the level of provinces, local communities and even individual educational institutions. In some cases, the national plan was nothing but the final, slightly edited summation of various partial plans prepared at lower levels.

More recently, however, an ever larger number of countries is actively moving in the direction of distributing planning as well as other functions over a wider range of administrative levels below the centre. Involving local, provincial, regional communities in the planning process is expected to generate more commitment to its outcomes or at least to improve the level of communication within the system. Planning bodies responsible for a smaller and more manageable area or part of the population are believed to be more closely in touch with reality and therefore able to produce more realistic plans than a remote planning authority in a distant capital. In some instances, decentralized planning is meant to increase the participation of parents, teachers and students in the planning process. Often it is thought that specific problems, such as the complex relationship between education and employment, can be understood and taken into account better at the more manageable level of regional planning. For these and a good many other reasons, recent years have seen a variety of attempts to establish or strengthen planning mechanisms at sub-national, regional or local levels. Their mode of operation and especially their degree of autonomy vary considerably from one case to another, and it will require more comparative information than we have at the moment to arrive at a useful typology of the various kinds of "micro"-planning.

E. Beyond the design of educational plans

Ever since there has been a systematic concern with educational planning, there have been different meanings of the term. Most of these meanings, however, have focused on the *design* of plans, and have led to various strategies, methods and techniques by which plans for educational development could be designed, covering all the steps from ascertaining information on both the *status quo* of the educational system and future needs for educated manpower to the matching of target dates with target achievements.

It probably took the conspicuous failure of so many seemingly well-designed educational plans to make planners aware of the fact that there are other things to educational planning than merely the design of a plan, and that it was conceivable and perhaps even more appropriate to think of educational planning as being concerned not only with the design, but also with the *implementation* and, indeed, *evaluation* of educational plans. Already at a relatively abstract level, it would seem to make sense to think of a continuum or even a cyclical process in which the design of a plan, already anticipating the possibilities and constraints of its implementation, leads to an implementation phase which is in turn permeated by a continuous evaluation effort out of which new corrective or reinforcing insights would go into the design phase of yet another planning cycle.

These five issues by no means cover the full range of ongoing reflections on the notion and scope of educational planning, but they seem representative of the kinds of concerns to which an accumulating experience in educational planning has led. Between them, they may begin to describe the possible shape of a somewhat broader, more comprehensive but also more differentiated concept of planning the development and reform of education.

Whatever the end-result of this process may be, however, it would seem useful to ask what implications it is likely to have for the training of those in charge of such a planning process, for the administrative organization of the planning effort, and for the definition of the research agenda that will produce the kind of knowledge base needed for such a broader notion of educational planning.

II. Implications for training

Having reviewed what appear to be some of the more significant changes in the terms of reference of educational planning, it becomes obvious that the role and the competencies of the people who are to engage in this broader set of planning tasks are likely to change as well. Such changes will substantially affect the training of planning personnel in various ways, some of which will be discussed in the following section.

A. The research component in training

Our first thesis had been that educational planning was bound to fail unless it was based on a thorough understanding of the complex set of social, political and economic factors which bear upon the development of educational systems. Those responsible for educational planning will thus require a systematic and rather sophisticated knowledge of the constraints which these factors create in order to determine the degrees of freedom within which education can exercise its leverage for development and change in the wider society. Enabling educational planners to cope with this role involves a dual task: first, they will have to be made aware of the important degree to which the development of educational systems is conditioned and determined by the state of the social system as a whole, and of the fact that educational development and reform is limited to what the existing dynamics of social structure, political power and economic wealth permit. Secondly, they have to acquire the skills needed to analyse these forces, their strengths and inter-relationships, and to understand the ways in which they determine what kinds of educational developments, changes or reforms are realistically possible.

While the first task has to do more with the consciousness and perspective which educational planners ought to acquire as a frame of reference for their work, the second task requires the acquisition of certain competencies without which the educational planner would be unable to obtain the knowledge necessary to place his task of planning the development of education into the context of the wider network of social, political and economic factors. This means that a minimum of research skills are indispensable for those who take the task of educational planning seriously. While it is not necessary that every planner becomes a fully-fledged researcher he should at least be able not only to understand, but also to assess and evaluate critically the quality and significance of such research results as he may have to draw upon. This would include an appreciation of the methodologies underlying research in the major disciplines as well as the exposure to exemplary pieces of research in relation to the treatment of policy issues to which such research may be relevant.

B. Distribution, disparities, equality in education

If it is true that educational planning is called upon, as a function of changing policy objectives, to devote more attention than in the past to the distributive aspects of the development of educational systems, then educational planners face a task for which they are not yet adequately prepared. It is one thing to project, on the basis of certain baseline data and need projections, the numerical growth of the different components of an educational system over a specified period of time, and another thing to plan changes in the pattern with which this growth is to be distributed across the various regions or social and ethnic groups of a country.

Here again, an important diagnostic component is involved: it is impossible to plan for the reduction or elimination of disparities in education unless one has a rather clear idea not only of the nature and extent of existing disparities but also of their underlying causes and conditions. In addition, there are specific skills and methods which are particularly relevant to a form of educational planning which is more oriented towards providing equality in education than to sheer growth. In addition to various methods for disaggregating indicators and statistics of educational development in order to make regional, social, ethnic and other disparities transparent in more detail, the school map as an instrument of assessing some of the spatial dimensions of educational development is a case in point.

C. Understanding the determinants of educational outcomes

If educational planning is to move its concerns beyond the flow of students through the various levels of the educational system to include the question of what happens to them during this process, a new dimension is likely to open up in the role and the training of educational planners. What seems necessary is to provide educational planners with a much better sense of the problems, constraints and possibilities involved in trying to assess the outcomes of educational processes in more qualitative terms. In this context, it seems particularly important to engage them in the on-going discussion of how educational factors interact with non-educational factors (such as socio-economic background) in producing certain learning effects. Whatever conclusions can be drawn from existing research on the determinants of educational outcomes should be an integral part of the training of educational planners, as should be the main arguments in the controversy over the relative importance of hereditary versus environmental factors in learning.

At a more technical level, educational planners should become familiar with the process whereby general educational objectives are translated into content specifications and learning goals for purposes of curriculum development, and should be familiar with both the substantive and the methodological aspects of evaluating whether or not a certain set of learning conditions has achieved the results it was designed to achieve.

D. Training for regional and local planning

The growing importance of planning at sub-national levels is changing and enlarging the frame of reference within which many countries have been accustomed to see the role and professional identity of the educational planner. By and large, training of planning personnel has been geared to the planning tasks at the central level, and even though many of the skills required at that level would be just as relevant to planning tasks at the level of provinces or local communities, planning on a more reduced scale and in closer proximity to the reality of the educational system is likely to call for a somewhat different training concept. The specific nature of such a concept would be a function of just what level and kind of planning is involved. If, as some argue, planning at the regional or provincial level is likely to be of a more integrated nature, the educational planner at that level will need to understand the development and planning problems in such related sectors as health, agricultural production, housing, infrastructure development, etc. Similarly, if planning, especially at the level of the local community, is to involve the active participation of the members of the community, a rather thorough understanding of the social and political fabric of the community is needed in order to maximize the benefits of such participation for the planning process.

Unlike the planner at the national level, regional and local planning personnel have reference points for their actions both below and above in the structure of the administrative hierarchy. It is necessary to understand these reference points and their function in the overall administrative network so as to bring to an optimum match the specific interests and needs of the area for which the planner is responsible and the broader considerations and priorities in national policies.

E. Implementing and evaluating educational plans

In the attempt to arrive at a more comprehensive notion of educational planning that would link the design of the educational plan with its implementation and evaluation in a continuing cycle, an effort must be made to have this notion of the design-implementation-evaluation continuum reflected in the training of educational planners. At the very least, the design of educational plans stands to gain a great deal in realism and feasibility from a better understanding on the part of the designer of the problems of implementing plans and of the criteria and methods for evaluating their success.

Since implementing plans for educational development is at the very heart of educational administrations, we are opening a wide field indeed for potential elements in the training of educational planning personnel. While no attempt should be made at this point to limit this field unduly, it is clear that the mechanisms of resource allocation (budget planning and control, etc.), the identification and implementation of specific projects and the arrangements for the monitoring, inspection and evaluation of educational development are particularly important from the point of view of extending the perspective of the educational planner into the area of implementation and evaluation.

III. Organizational implications

Nothing of what has been said in the first part of this paper disputes the fact that educational planning as a task to be accomplished within the context of the overall management of educational systems will continue to exist, albeit under some variety of names and modalities. If what has been said about the expanding scope of educational planning is true, however, then it is very likely that some of the institutional arrangements and boundaries within which "educational planning" has conventionally taken place will become more and more tenuous. Planning not only the size, but also the shape and, to some extent, the content of future educational systems and programmes will require not only different institutional mechanisms, but also a different and probably more complex and differentiated set of relationships with other institutional elements. Most important, a reorientation of educational planning along the lines suggested in the first part of this paper will put into question the conventional distinction between educational planning and educational administration, a distinction which seems to stand very much in the way of arriving at a more comprehensive and functional system of educational management and policy implementation.

A. Institutional linkages between planning and research

A more research-oriented concept of educational planning will not only require certain skills and orientations on the part of the personnel involved, but will also lead to somewhat different structural arrangements. Already some interesting attempts exist to merge planning and research functions into one organizational unit (e.g., EDPITAF in the Philippines, BP3K in Indonesia) with genuine R-and-D responsibilities within the context of educational development and reform policies. In other instances, planning units have gradually built up internal research capacities to investigate problems related to disparities, dropouts, etc. Yet another mode of strengthening research capacity for purposes of improving planning has been the utilization of national educational research institutions (as in a number of francophone African countries) which are statutorily and organizationally linked to the planning efforts of the Ministry of Education.

Whatever the specific organizational modalities, there is already an effort in many countries to bring research and planning more closely together. The effectiveness of the different existing arrangements will be in need of further study, especially with regard to the issue of autonomy of research under conditions of close association with planning. Considerable difficulties appear to exist in many developing countries (and certainly not only there) in trying to link university-based research to the planning effort in more than an *ad hoc* and haphazard way, having led some countries (e.g., Tanzania) to "parastatalize" university-based institutions for educational research.

B. Organizing distributive planning

To the extent that greater attention on the part of educational planning to the issues of distribution, equality and disparities in educational development requires a more solid and sophisticated knowledge-base on the factors behind the present distribution or maldistribution of educational services, the comments made in the preceding paragraph would seem to apply here as well. With regard to the particular problem of regional disparities, planning agencies will have to develop a good deal more familiarity with the particular problems of individual regions, and may be helped in achieving this familiarity by a certain degree of administrative decentralization (see below). Most important, however, given the fact that disparities and inequalities in education are hardly and rarely an intra-educational phenomenon, but reflect and result from disparities in the society at large, any effort to reduce inequality in education requires concertation with other developmental efforts aiming in the same direction. From the point of view of organization, this requires a substantial strengthening of lateral linkages between different sector agencies (health, agriculture, finance, etc.) for purposes of improved communication and co-ordination.

C. Relating quantity and content in educational planning

Conventionally, educational planning units and those units dealing with the contents and qualities of the learning process have been placed at considerable organizational distance from each other. Assuming a planning mandate which seeks a much closer integration of these two aspects of shaping the future of educational systems, it becomes critically important to bridge this institutional gap and to establish close working relationships between educational planning units in the narrower sense and those units dealing with curriculum development, teacher training and re-training programmes, the development of examination systems, etc. Consultation among units is likely to lead to more co-ordination, but one of the most serious obstacles appears to be in many countries the lack of a common decision or policy framework to guide both the more quantitative planning effort and the main orientations of developing and revising the content of educational programmes.

D. Regional and local planning

Of all the possible parameters of change in the institutional arrangements for educational planning, the issue of decentralization, "deconcentration", regionalization or localization of planning in education raises probably the most consequential and difficult organizational questions. As long as planning is an activity reserved to the central governmental level there is relatively little problem along the vertical axis of administrative organization, except possibly for some problems of maintaining and updating the information base used in planning. As soon as planning functions begin to be delegated to lower levels, however, the institutional arrangements are bound to become more and more complex. Aside from issues of communication, consistency of procedures, synchronization, etc., the main issue appears to be to reconcile the diversity of sub-national units (in itself a desired result of delegated planning) with the need for a relatively coherent planning effort at the national level. The problem is exacerbated to the extent to which local and regional planning units are encouraged to reflect and represent the particular needs and conditions of their "constituencies". In fact, genuine decentralization of the planning process is as yet rather rare, but has, where it has been introduced, necessitated mechanisms of co-ordination and arbitration in order to maintain the cohesion of a national development effort.

E. Plan implementation and evaluation

While there seems nothing wrong with the logic of a more integrated notion of planning as encompassing not only the design, but the implementation and evaluation of educational planning as well, existing administrative structures form considerable obstacles to such an arrangement. More often than not, the unit in charge of designing the educational plan is rather isolated from the rest of the administrative machinery in education, including those units that are responsible for the implementation of the plan, for financing, and for whatever plan evaluation is undertaken. As a result, plan design and implementation often lead separate existences, with the design phase failing to appreciate the difficulties and constraints of implementation, and implementation being deprived of the capacity of the design unit to adjust the plan in the light of accumulating experience. It is here that the over-rigid distinction between educational planning and administration exerts a particularly high price and is in need of being replaced with an organizational arrangement that allows and facilitates not only communication, but also a continuous process of correction and adjustment of the plan as ongoing evaluation yields the appropriate insights.

IV. Implications for research

A. The research component in educational planning

From what has been said before about the close inter-relationship between research and planning, the major task for the research component in the educational planning effort would be to contribute to a better understanding of both the nature and the dynamics of the existing systems of political power, economic wealth and social status. Such an understanding should enable the planning effort to appreciate (1) the possibilities and limitations of educational development and reform and (2) the effect which certain educational developments and reforms are likely to have (or not to have) on the process of change in the society at large.

This kind of research will have one important characteristic: it will be largely directed at phenomena outside of the educational system itself. While, for purposes of educational planning, important questions will remain to be answered that pertain to "intra-educational" problems and processes, the more fundamental questions relates to such issues as:

(a) The nature of work (in its cognitive, affective, and social aspects) as a frame of reference for education;

(b) the development of technology as an important parameter of the conditions of productive work;

(c) the nature of the political decision-making process, including the analysis of the factors influencing this process from both within and outside the system;

(d) the nature and strength of the system of social stratification, including an understanding of the major correlates of social status;

(e) the identification of patterns of correspondence or non-correspondence between development trends in the system at large and the educational system.

In many ways, this is "basic research"—both in the sense that it is of fundamental importance to the understanding of the conditions of possible developments and reforms of education and of their effect, and in the sense of the need for a particularly penetrating, probing research effort.

In this sense, the research task that is needed lies at some considerable logical, methodological and organizational distance from the day-to-day agenda of educational planning as we know it. To bridge this distance, to bring the insights to be gained from such basic research to the attention and comprehension of those who are immediately in charge of planning the development and reform of education becomes thus a particularly crucial problem, the solution to which will require somewhat different attitudes and skills on the part of both researchers and planning personnel: the former will have to be motivated and trained to express their insights in such a way as to make them more easily transparent to the eye of the policy-maker and administrator, while those in charge of planning will have to acquire substantially more skills and competence in the identification, appreciation and utilization of research results.

B. Research and equality

It is in this area that perhaps a particularly important research effort is required. If we accept the premise that inequalities in both access to education and in educational accomplishment reflect and perpetuate the pattern of inequalities prevailing in a given society, it is important to understand the nature and strength of the factors behind existing inequalities on the way to and through educational programmes. From this point of view, it becomes important to identify not only the correlates of different patterns of access to educational opportunity, but also the social and economic characteristics associated with the phenomena of drop-out and repeating as well as with differential achievement.

Even if "intra-educational" measures, such as increasing and/or distributing more evenly the supply of educational opportunities or providing compensatory educational programmes for disadvantaged groups, may not have the momentum to change a social system that is otherwise predicated on the maintenance of an unequal distribution of life chances, research of the kind advocated here would at least lay bare the web of inter-relationships between society and school that helps to uphold existing inequalities. At the same time, a comprehensive development policy that would be prepared to follow its own egalitarian rhetoric could derive from such research important insights as to possible strategies of enhancing equality in the system as a whole, with due consideration of the role education could play.

In this, perhaps more than in any other area of planning-related research, it seems important to pay particular attention to the historical dimension of the problem. It is hard to see how one could effectively arrive at an understanding of the "dynamics of inequality" and the role of education in it without taking into account the historical process which has led to the present state of affairs in a given society.

C. *Research on quality and content in the development of education*

If, as has been argued before, the anticipation and planning not only of the quantitative properties of educational systems but also of their substance and content is becoming an increasingly important concern in planning the development and reform of education, the knowledge-base for this aspect of the overall planning effort would seem to be particularly inadequate. This is true for at least two important elements of this knowledge base, namely

(a) our understanding of the determinants of educational outcomes of various kinds, i.e., of the relationship between educational and non-educational factors and whatever identifiable outcomes an educational system claims and tries to accomplish;

(b) an understanding of the process involved in changing some or all of the substantive properties of an educational system, including the operational relationships between general objectives and the formulation of specific learning goals and the corresponding curricular and instructional specifications.

With regard to the first set of issues, any future research agenda on the determinants of educational outcomes as a basis for planning the substance and content of education will have to be cognizant of the successes and failures of the massive research effort on educational outcomes which has been conducted at national and international levels over the last two decades. An inventory of those results of this effort that are not only sufficiently corroborated, but are also specific enough to serve as guidelines for concrete planning work in the fields of curriculum, instruction and teacher training is badly needed, even though one should not be too optimistic as to the final weight and length of such a list. Given the variety of educational objectives in different countries, it will also be necessary to introduce a much greater variety of categories of outcome into this field of research beyond the unduly limited category of cognitive achievement.

Both the nature and the extent of research needed to cover the second aspect of the necessary knowledge base pose quite formidable problems. An understanding of the processes which lead to the initiation, design, implementation, modification and evaluation of qualitative or substantive changes in educational systems will have to be based on the analysis of a sufficiently large and varied sample of actual cases of such change, from which one could then begin to develop a more generalized notion of what the process of substantive change and reform in education involves. We are at the very beginning of this effort, and are unlikely to find much guidance from the majority of studies on educational innovations which are conspicuous for their purely descriptive nature and the absence of any guiding conceptual framework.

D. Research on regional and local planning

One of the most frequent arguments in favour of a concept and practice of educational planning that involves more heavily the levels below the national centre is that regional and local planning efforts would be in a much better position to identify and take into account the specific conditions and needs of their respective constituencies and would thus lead to plans that are more "in tune" with the developmental realities of the various regions and communities in a country. If one were to follow this line of reasoning, it would seem important to identify and to create the kind of knowledge-base on which such a decentralized planning effort could be based. If regional or local planning units are to take into account the conditions prevailing in their respective region or community, these conditions must be ascertained and information about them updated regularly so as to provide a viable base for the planning operation. Presumably, such information would not just be a disaggregated version of the aggregate statistical information which is normally at the base of national planning efforts, but would go beyond to include information on the particular developmental problems of a given region, about social, ethnic, economic factors that are particularly relevant to the difficulties and possibilities of development in that particular region, etc. In a way, we are facing here a problem of both research and research organization. With regard to the latter, it will be important to develop simple but effective ways of collecting, storing and updating such information as will be required for the regional or local planning effort, including the training of those who will be in charge of this information process.

As a second research issue, however, we face the question of how and under what conditions decentralized or delegated systems of planning are likely to function. Clearly, the articulation of different regional and local needs that may well be the result of a genuinely decentralized planning effort creates a problem of co-ordination in the ultimate reconciliation of resource needs and the allocation of resources at the national level. Here again, a large and varied sample of experiences in the effective decentralization of planning would be an ideal source of potentially generalizable information, but it seems rather doubtful whether a sufficient number of genuine experiences of this kind are already available. Beyond some useful and important exercises in speculation and in the review of potentially applicable organizational theories, the most important research strategy would therefore seem to be to observe and critically evaluate ongoing efforts at the decentralization of planning so as gradually to build up a stock of relevant empirical evidence.

E. Research and the implementation and evaluation of educational plans

There is a great deal to be said for improving the knowledge-base for the design of plans for educational development and reform; there is no question but that the difficulties which so many educational plans encounter can be traced back to an inadequate, incomplete, unreliable or otherwise faulty set of information at the very outset of the planning exercise. The understanding of non-educational determining or conditioning factors for which we had argued above will contribute important ingredients for such an improved knowledge base, as will more reliable data on present and future demographic and economic developments as well as resource conditions.

Of a different kind and of at least the same importance are the research implications which result from extending the notion of educational planning to include not only the design, but also the implementation and evaluation of the planning effort. With regard to implementation, the most important need appears to be for an understanding of the reasons why educational plans, in spite of seemingly well conceived designs, are only partly, inadequately or not at all implemented. A review of experiences of such failures across different countries would already generate a set of research hypotheses, ranging from deficiencies in intra-administrative communication, to deliberate interference by interested groups and institutions in the execution of plan designs, to changes in the resource situation. A more systematic review of such experiences would undoubtedly yield a rich result in the further and more systematic identification of the "critical issues" in the implementation of various kinds of plans.

Studying the conditions for success or failure in the implementation of plans for educational development and reform does already contribute one important element to the evaluation task in the context of educational planning. To know not only *that* certain plans have not or only partly been implemented but also *why* would be the main interest in any evaluative effort that would become part of a more comprehensive notion of educational planning. Already a good deal has been accomplished in developing suitable methodologies for the evaluation of the educational effort as such; what seems to be needed is the development of more refined methodologies for assessing the degree to which given plans for educational development and reform have achieved their targets, and for identifying the elements that have contributed to or distracted from such achievement.

Conclusion

This paper has tried, as briefly as possible, to outline a possible agenda for further discussing some of the challenges which educational planning is likely to face. If, as a result of shifting policy concerns in education and on the basis of past planning experience, the task of planning the development and reform of education is becoming both more complex and more comprehensive along the lines indicated in the first part of this paper, then the three areas most likely to be substantially affected are the training of planning personnel, the administrative organization of the planning effort and the agenda for planning-related research. For these three areas, the last sections of the paper have begun to raise a number of issues which would seem to be in particular need of discussion. Such a discussion, it is hoped, will lead to a better orientation of future efforts in training, research and administrative organization at both the national and international levels.

III. Educational planning between politics and implementation:

summary reports of three working groups

The following reports were edited from the written summaries prepared by the working groups' *rapporteurs* during the seminar, from the transcript of the oral presentation of the reports, from comments made on the report by members of the working group, and from the editor's notes. The points made in the plenary discussion of each working group report have been included in the synthesis of the seminar's discussions in Chapter IV. Each working group was asked to include in its report comments on the implications of its discussions for training and research in educational planning. These comments have been omitted from the presentation of the reports in this chapter and have instead been integrated into a more systematic discussion of training needs and research priorities in Chapter V.

A. Processes: policy, planning, implementation

Working group I: Khunying A. Meesok F. (chairman); Ta Ngoc C. (*rapporteur*); A. Damiba, K. Eide, K. Hüfner, A. Ivanov, J. Moris, W. S. Perfecto, Setijadi.

After reviewing its terms of reference, the group decided to concentrate on the nature and components of the planning/policy-making process. This process can be seen as a set of three main components:

(1) the upward flow of information;
(2) the choice of alternative courses of action; and
(3) the downward flow of decisions.

It should be noted that serious distortions can occur both in the upward flow of information and in the downward flow of decisions. The larger the (physical and organizational) distance between the centre, where decisions are made, and the base, where information is generated and where decisions are implemented, the higher the risk of distortion and the greater the potential for delay in implementation. Decentralization of planning and policy-making structures may shorten that distance and reduce both distortion and delay.

1. The upward flow of information

Two kinds of information flow can be considered: flow of information from within the system and flow of information from outside the system.

(a) Information from within the system. The types of information that are sought from within the system pertain to such questions as the performance of the system, the relationship between cost and outcome, the difficulties encountered in implementing plans and policies, etc. The accuracy and the relevance of the information obtained depend in large measure upon the degree of confidence between the lower and upper levels of administration and on the hierarchical nature of the organizational relationship. Elements within the organization can and do create their own systems of protection and defence (their "shock-absorbing capacities") which may interfere with the needs for free and unencumbered information flow.

(b) Information from outside the system. This is information obtained primarily from consulting those who will be affected by the outcome of the planning-policy process. This consultation raises a number of critical issues:

With regard to the *aim* of such consultation, it is important to see whether the purpose of consultation is to manipulate those who are being consulted and to bring about a consensus among them, or whether it is to understand the elements of a potential or actual conflict situation and to assess the relative power of the conflicting groups. As to the *form* of consultation, the possibilities range from a true, continuing dialogue on the full scope of the policy to seeking *ad hoc* answers to some isolated questions. In either case, the nature of the answer will depend to a large extent on the information base which those that are being consulted are given. Countries differ in their respective *need* for some form of organized consultation, and language is an important factor in this respect. Where the official language is a foreign language that is spoken and understood by only a limited part of the population, communication between centre and base can be particularly difficult, and the need for a special effort of consultation particularly acute. In addition to language barriers, possible other *difficulties* encountered in the context of consultation may include difficulty of access to information media (radio) and the development of administrative or academic jargon.

2. The choice of alternative courses for action

The choice of alternative courses of action is at the heart of the planning process. The main role of the planner is to identify both the short-term and the long-term implications of different possible courses of action. The time dimension of planning has to be seen, in this context, as the need to identify, in a world characterized by a great deal of uncertainty, the future implications of present decisions. Present decisions tend to determine the future particularly by reducing the range of alternatives available at any future point in time.

There are different ways in which planning can become involved in the choice of alternative courses of action. It can be conceived and practised as a rather authoritarian process where all information is centralized in the planning unit, which also prepares the decision and imposes it on the entire system. Such a process allows for neat and consistent messages, but also minimizes the participation and involvement in the planning process on the part of anybody not belonging to the central planning machinery. Alternatively, planning can be seen as an exercise in co-operation among different levels of the administrative and social system. In that sense, planning becomes more of a pedagogical process in which the planning unit at one level assists other planning units at lower levels to come to terms with their own planning tasks. While this process is likely to lead to less consistent results, it tends to increase the chances of implementation by virtue of the involvement of lower levels of the system.

In the preparation of alternative courses of action, it is particularly important to anticipate influences which originate from the social, economic and political environment of education and which may affect the implementation of the plan positively or negatively.

3. *The downward flow of decisions*

Here again, the distinction between an authoritarian form of promulgating and implementing decisions and a form which emphasizes obtaining the co-operative commitment of the base in implementation is important and makes for substantial differences in the nature of the process of plan implementation.

Among the problems that were noted with regard to the downward flow of decisions in developing countries was the lack of detailed programme design. Very often, the programme that is prescribed is predicated on an implicit investment model, with no analysis of how such a model, which is often of foreign origin, can function in the context of a specific country. Another important and frequent weakness is the lack of implementation capacity at the lower levels of the administrative system. This is only in part a matter of the competence of the people and institutions at the base, and more important a matter of the actual distribution of power within the system. If the base is not capable of implementing, it is not so much because it does not have the required competence, but because it does not have the power for implementation. In many countries, people and institutions at the base have not been permitted to make implementation decisions, and hence are not used to making those decisions.

The group discussed at length the problem of evaluation in relation planning and policy-making. Rapid and regular feedback is considered to be very useful for the effective monitoring of the system's performance. However, serious doubts were expressed regarding the possibility and usefulness of ambitious, large-scale evaluations. For one thing, evaluation can hardly ever be impartial as long as those who evaluate tend to be also the ones who set the objectives in the first place. Furthermore, especially in the context of educational reform, it is nearly impossible to arrive at a useful comparison between an old system and a new one, since the criteria of success are almost by definition different for the two systems.

The group concluded by listing some of the implications of its discussions for the training of planning personnel. These implications are included in the appropriate part of Chapter V.

B. Educational planning and social change

Working group II: P. Latapi (chairman); R. S. Adams and G. Carron (*rapporteurs*); B. Kluchnikov, R. Krasno, H. M. Levin, J. P. Naik, D. M. Windham.

At the suggestion of its chairman, the group took as its point of departure a three-fold frame of reference on the relationship between educational planning and change. According to this framework, the educational planner has essentially three different options on how to relate to the process of change in a society:

(a) Helping to maintain the *status quo* (the "functional" option), corresponding largely to the conventional concept of educational planning and depending on a techno-rational mode of operation in which participation is largely irrelevant;

(b) engaging in reformist actions for gradual change (the "reformist" option), where the planner remains identified with his role within the government, but also acquires an additional role which would allow him to affect the "political project" or dominant ideology in favour of gradual change; and

(c) undertaking structural change (the "radical" option) through becoming a "social activist" and even an agent of subversion, typically from outside rather than from within governmental structures: the planner turns politician, committed to changing some of the basic conditions of his society.

On the basis of this initial framework, the group developed a model or schema to account for the fact that not only do educational planners differ with respect to their orientation to change, but that societies also differ in their propensity for change, their predisposition and willingness to change, and that there are societies which would rank rather high on their collective willingness to change as compared to others where the dominant disposition would be towards maintaining the *status quo*.

The two dimensions of this scheme—the society's propensity for change and the educational planner's definition of his own role *vis-à-vis* the process of change—generate a number of different hypothetical conditions (the "cells" in the scheme, see Figure 1) where the disposition of the society at large and that of the planner with respect to change may be at greater or lesser variance.

All societies tend to move towards the diagonal of the model, where the disposition of the society at large and that of the planner are basically in agreement (cells 1.1, 2.2 and 3.3). There are situations in the history of societies, however,

Society's willingness/propensity to change

Orientation of educational planners towards change	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
FUNCTIONAL/ MAINTENANCE	1.1	2.1	3.1
REFORM	1.2	2.2	3.2
RADICAL CHANGE	1.3	2.3	3.3

FIGURE 1. *A schematic presentation of the relationship between educational planning and social change.*

where such congruence does not exist, and where either the propensity of the society towards change *exceeds* that of the planner (where the planner, as the group put it, is a "trailer" in relation to the society), or conversely, where the planner (as the "tractor" in this case) is ahead of the society as far as willingness to engage in real change is concerned. In terms of the scheme, the former situation would be represented by cells 1.2, 1.3 and 2.3, whereas the latter, the "planner-as-tractor" situation, would correspond to cells 2.1, 3.1, and 3.2.

While emphasizing the utility of this scheme for the purposes of organizing different kinds of ideas on the relationship between the educational planner and social change, the group was anxious to point out the global and abstract nature of the model and the need for its further development if it were to be brought into closer correspondence with specific situations in different countries. Potentially, however, the model appeared to be suitable for application to both macro- and micro-situations wherever there may be variance in terms of disposition towards change between a subset of the society (be they planners, teachers, etc.) and the society at large (or those with the political authority to control the society at large).

Of particular interest in the further exploration of this complex relationship between educational planning and social change would seem to be those cases where the orientations of the society and those of the planner *are* at variance (as in all the cases outside of the diagonal in our model). In this respect, a number of observations made by the group are particularly pertinent.

Among the dangers which the planner faces as a result of the nature of his relationship to social change are two which are particularly conspicuous in the experience of a good number of countries: (a) The planner may be used as an alibi by an essentially conservative, *status-quo*-oriented political authority which, for a variety of reasons, may use the planner as an instrument to create the (false) impression of the system's willingness to change. While this may be a distinctly unpleasant role for the planner to play, it may well be that the alternative is (b), namely, that he finds himself ejected from the system, on more or less punitive terms, if the degree of deviation between his own ideas and those of the political authority is such that he is considered to be too much of a liability, especially if he refuses to accommodate to the kind of arrangement outlined under (a).

In another respect, it seemed important to note that educational reform and social change do by no means need to coincide, and that reforms in education do not necessarily lead to or support social change. As illustrated by the case of educational technology, even major educational innovations may end up actually reinforcing the social *status quo*. Many other educational innovations in fields such as curriculum, teacher training, etc. are in effect often neutral with regard to any impact on the process of social change.

There were three issues which the group did not find the time to discuss at any length, but considered sufficiently important to include as items for further consideration in its report:

(a) the relationship between a problem-solving orientation of educational planning (such as the one that the group had adopted), and a perspective that would orient educational planning more towards the identification and the meeting of *needs*;

(b) the *distribution* of planning tasks throughout the society, especially the dispersion of planning responsibilities along a vertical axis, at higher and lower levels of social and political activity;

(c) the *legitimation* of the planning process and, related to this, the sources and extent of the political influence of the planner.

The group devoted particularly close attention to the training implications of its discussion on the relationship between the educational planner and social change. Although these implications are an integral part of the group's report, they are incorporated, for the sake of synthesis with the other groups' suggestions, in Chapter V.

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C. Planners, public, politicians

Working group III: M. Rahnema (chairman); R. H. Dave (*rapporteur*); T. Husén, M. J. Kinunda, J. Simmons, A. Solari, J. Velloso, Vinyu V.-V.

From among the many problems which characterize the relationships between planners, the public, and the holders of political authority, the group found the following three to be particularly in need of review: participation; the political mandate of the planner; and external influence in planning.

On this basis, the group adopted an agenda which was to cover the following items:

(1) The position or role of the planner in relation to the state and the public;
(2) Conflict arising out of lack of consensus in this relationship;
(3) Participation as a means of conflict resolution;
(4) External influences in planning; and
(5) Implications for research, training, and administration.

In pursuing this agenda, the group made a number of assumptions:

(a) Education is a much broader concept than just schooling;
(b) Although politicians and the public are the source of certain constraints on the activities of the planner, they can also be effectively utilized as resources in planning;
(c) Where planning is used to bring about change, conflict is likely to arise, and measures will be needed to resolve such conflict.

Even though the group considered it important to address the question of how to identify needs as a basis for planning, it did not discuss the matter explicitly, since it was covered in the work of one of the other groups.

In clarifying the key terms of its mandate, the group emphasized the need for considering as politicians both those in power and those in opposition. Regarding the public, a distinction was made between the "general public", the bureaucracy in the Ministry of Education and other Ministries, and the public of "implementors", primarily the teachers.

1. The position of the planner in relation to the state and the public

The relationship between the planner, on the one hand, and both the public and the politicians, on the other, can be seen in terms of either consensus or conflict. Where there is essentially consensus about the direction which educational change should take, the relationship is harmonious. However, where there is disagreement, as is often the case, a conflict situation arises which calls for some form of resolution.

2. *Conflict arising out of lack of consensus*

In order to develop a better understanding of the kinds of conflict situation that are likely to arise in the context of educational change and in the relationships between planners, the public, and the politicians, the group reviewed a number of concrete cases in different countries. This exercise was to show how widely the situations vary with which educational planning has to cope, and how flexible, therefore, the notion and practice of educational planning has to be. The group developed an illustrative inventory of conflict situations in terms of just what, in a given case, was the main issue of contention. This list, which is not meant to be exhaustive, includes the following:

— Mutual distrust between politicians and planners;
— Conflict between traditionally accepted values, structures, etc., and new concepts of education (e.g., formal schools *v.* alternative forms of education);
— Conflicts over competing spheres of influence as a result of inter-ministerial responsibility for certain educational programmes, especially in the area of non-formal and out-of-school education;
— Conflicts within the structural domain of education, e.g., in the relationship with teachers' unions, curriculum centres, teacher-training programmes, etc.;
— Conflicts arising out of frequent changes in government and of a lack of consistency in overall national development policy as well as in educational policy;
— Conflicts arising out of the incompatibility between plans for change in education and existing bodies of legislation;
— Conflict arising from different approaches and objectives of planning adopted by different groups in the system;
— Conflicts over allocation decisions between ministries of education and ministries of finance;
— Conflicts between governmental and non-governmental interests and representatives at the local level;
— Conflict between long-term and short-term objectives, including different estimations of the political cost involved in achieving them;
— Conflicts emerging from the finite nature of financial and other resources.

These are illustrative of the wide range of conflict situations that can and do emerge within the context of planning the development and, especially, the reform of educational systems. These conflicts are of many different types: conflicts at the national or the local level; between and within sectors; between the planners and the institutions of the state, etc. Whatever the particular nature of a given conflict situation may be, however, it seems important to consider possible modes of resolving them in the interest of proceeding with the task of educational development and reform.

3. Participation as a means of conflict resolution

In the group's view, participation was considered to be one of the most significant means of conflict resolution in the kinds of situations that had been reviewed, and was discussed at length. Among the functions of participation, the most important one appears to be the articulation of the public's need with regard to the future of the educational system. In helping people to articulate their needs, and to become actively involved in designing ways to meet those needs, participation serves both a liberating and a genuinely educational function: it liberates the silent majority of the people who had their lives determined by distant and unresponsive bureaucracies, and provides at the same time both motivation and opportunity for enhancing their understanding of the dynamics of their society and for raising their consciousness of its inherent problems. From the point of view of the planner, a participatory process of identifying needs not only provides him with a more solid and comprehensive set of information on which to base his planning efforts, but also allows him to design his plans in such a way as to minimize conflict in the actual implementation of the plan.

Based on a discussion of several specific cases of participation in planning, the various groups likely to be involved in such a process at the local, regional, or national level were identified both within and outside the educational system. In discussing the process of participation itself, it was considered essential that participation be real, i.e., that it should not be limited to discussion and the exchange of information, but that it should have a real and discernible impact on the decision-making process in such a way that the expressed needs of the participant groups were reflected in the results of the planning and allocation process. Indeed, this involvement should go beyond the actual planning process and extend to the evaluation of plans for the development and reform of education so that such evalutions would reflect the ongoing assessment of the effect of these plans on the various groups which are exposed to their results.

The conflictual nature of the process of developing and changing education and the participatory mode of resolving such conflicts lead to a reconsideration of the most important ingredients in the role and competence of the planner. It seems particularly necessary that the planner be not only technically competent, but also politically conscious in the sense that he is able to interact perceptively with a wide range of expressions of needs on the part of the public as well as with a fairly complex set of pressures and counter-pressures from different groups of politicians. Even though the ultimate decision on the major course of action in educational development is likely to be the politician's, participatory forms of expressing needs and of involving the public in the implementation of the plan place the planner in a much more critical position as a mediator between public and politicians. His informed judgment on the kinds of alternatives that are possible within the constraints of that relationship requires both a penetrating understanding of the political dynamics of the relationship and considerable communicative skills in interaction with all the parties involved in it.

4. *External influences in planning*

The issue of external influences not only on planning, but upon the nature of the relationship between planners, the public, and the politicians especially in developing countries gave rise to a particularly lively discussion both in the group and, upon the presentation of the group's report, in the plenary session. The all-pervasive nature of this influence was identified by a number of participants as perhaps the most significant element in understanding internal decision-making processes in education as in other fields. That influence was not limited to various forms of technical intervention through experts, etc., but had assumed a much more encompassing and penetrating form in affecting the very development models which underlie the efforts of many developing societies and in introducing essentially foreign value systems into the frame of reference within which policy decisions are made. Against this background of external influences on the formation of national policies, the stipulation of participatory forms of planning and policy-making assumes even greater significance as a possible counterweight against influences from outside the country: in one of the arguments made in the group and in the subsequent plenary discussion, a process of planning that is based on the broad and effective involvement of the base of the political and social system may well provide an effective protection against the domination of the planning process by a small technocratic élite whose values and priorities are more closely associated with those of the outside world than with those of their own national public. In this sense, the external postulate of self-reliance is closely related to the internal postulate of participation.

5. *Implications for research, training, and administration*

In keeping with the importance which the group attached to the various aspects and interpretations of the issue of external influence, one of the main concerns in discussing the implications of the preceding discussion was the external origin of training and research models in education and educational planning. Against the background of this concern, a number of specific suggestions were made by the group on how research and training could help to cope with the conflictual nature of the processes of educational development and reform. These suggestions have been incorporated into the appropriate sections of Chapter V.

IV. Social change and the planning of educational development and reform:

a synthesis of the seminar discussions

As intended and expected, the discussions in the seminar covered a wide range of issues, and proceeded on the assumption that whatever was wrong or in need of change in educational planning was probably not just a matter of some of the internal properties or characteristics of the planning process itself, but had its roots in the various relationships that link educational planning with the social, economic and political environment within which education functions. The relationship between education and social change became thus a natural point of departure for a discussion which then went on to focus on the implications of some of our insights into the dynamics of social change for the concept of educational planning. As it became clear that planning the future of education had to be based on an assessment of the needs of a society, the question of how those needs were to be identified emerged as a particularly important and difficult issue, leading the seminar to paying a great deal of attention to participation and conflict in educational planning. Against the background of a changing concept of educational planning and a more participatory and conflictual nature of the planning process, how can we maximize the effectiveness of educational planning? This question led to a reconsideration of some of the key elements in the planning process, especially information and implementation. The last part of this chapter deals with the international context of educational planning, which was an issue that affected, in one form or another, most of the seminar's discussions, and is thus particularly difficult to separate from the other parts of this chapter.

On the whole, however, the five broad topics into which this chapter is divided represent fairly well the main "axes" of the discussions at Arc-et-Senans. The fact that they overlap in many ways, and that there are many important linkages between the different issues, is nothing but a reflection of a reality in which, indeed, the process of educational planning is part of a close and complex set of relationships linking it to the political economy of development.

A. Education and social change: implications for planning

The notion that "our view of the role of education in social change is changing", as one participant put it, was perhaps the only statement on which all members of the seminar could agree fully in a discussion that was characterized by a great deal of very fruitful disagreement on just how the relationship between education and social change is to be conceived. The sceptical theses on the very limited effects of education in bringing about social change which Levin had developed in his paper (see Chapter II) found both strong supporters and more or less vigorous critics, although there seemed to be a general persuasion that our more conventional notions about what differences education is able to make on its own in bringing about social change had been rather naive and simple-minded.

Among the arguments were a number which, while agreeing in principle with Levin's contention that the direction of causation went from social change to education rather than the other way around, saw a noteworthy residual or marginal effect of educational developments on certain aspects of social change. Thus, education was considered indispensable in bringing about both lasting and peaceful change; while education by itself was not expected to have much effect on social change, it was argued that it may well have its utility as an element in a concerted effort in which other social forces join in an attempt to bring about change. The point was made that education can and does serve to enable people to benefit from and utilize the results of social change, as in the case of workers whom education had enabled to play a significant role in the co-determination of their firms (without that change towards greater industrial democracy itself having come about as a result of education). A common tenor of these various qualifications was that education, with regard to its possible effect on social change, could be seen as a necessary, but not as a sufficient condition. In the same sense, it was argued that the conception of the relationship between education and social change, with all due recognition of the primacy of social change, should leave room for a "marginal" or "corrective" role of education that would not entirely make education the helpless creature of social dynamics which it was completely unable to affect.

A number of important questions on this issue were raised, but will require a great deal more reflection and research before they can be answered, although reference was made to a set of empirical case studies of educational reform which appeared to provide support for Levin's theses in situations beyond the United States. The question whether the sheer size and financial importance of education in developing countries would make it a more powerful agent of social change was raised, as was the possibility that the lack of effect of education on social change may not necessarily hold true for alternative, non-formal programmes of education.

In terms of the further pursuit of the relationship between education and social change, however, one of the most significant lines of argument dealt with the political nature of social change. If social change—i.e., changes in the distribution of wealth, status, and cultural amenities—is a determining factor where the development of education is concerned (rather than the other way around), the nature and direction of social change is itself dependent upon what a number of discussants referred to as the "political project" of a society. This "political project", or ideology, or the vision of a society's future as held by those in power, determines whether or not there is to be social change, and what direction it, and educational development with it, will take. Thus, whether the dependence of educational development and reform upon social change is complete or leaves education with a margin of effect (and that question may well be answered differently in different societies), planning education remains in large measure determined by the political agenda of the society. More remains to be said, in reporting on other parts of the discussions, on the political context and nature of educational planning, but the review of the relationship between education and social change did already indicate at a fairly early point in the seminar the central importance of coming to terms with the political determinants of social change as one of the key conditions for effective and realistic planning in education.

B. The changing concept of educational planning

Whatever the variations in the original concept of educational planning and its applications had been, it had by and large been predicated on the notion that the future of an educational system could be seen as the end-result of a fairly autonomous technical planning process. As the contingent nature of planning, its dependence on a complex set of contextual conditions and constraints, and its essentially political nature has become clear, the concept of educational planning itself has come to need "a second look", as one of the participants at Arc-et-Senans put it. This second look takes its guidance from a number of different sources, all of which have a contribution to make to reformulating some of the basic aspects of educational planning. First of all, it is instructive to look at some of the failures in educational planning, and to reflect on why they occurred. Secondly, we will have to pursue some of the things that were said on the relationship between educational planning and social change as they, too, bear upon the need to revise the concept of educational planning. A third and related input comes from realizing the political dimension of educational planning. Against this background, it becomes necessary to think through the notion of planning as a process, and to identify the main elements of that process, before turning to the planner in order to see whether and in what way his or her role would be affected by the kinds of changes which the concept of educational planning is undergoing.

This is, essentially, how this particular dimension of the discussion is to be reported. Clearly, to the extent that the concept of educational planning is changing, some of the later items of the report will take on a different meaning, and there will be need to come back in later sections to the discussions reported here.

Shortcomings and failures in educational planning

Instructive as the various contributions to the discussion were that dealt with reasons why educational planning had failed or fallen short of expectations in so many cases, they were no substitute for a long overdue and much more thorough investigation on the failure of educational planning in different situations. Such a study, if it were properly and incisively enough conducted, would undoubtedly shed a great deal of light on the circumstances which facilitate or hinder the effective and realistic planning of educational development. None the less, the discussions at the seminar yielded a number of possible explanations which would seem to carry at least the weight of working hypotheses for further investigation, and would—to judge from references in the discussion—probably be substantiated in a good number of countries. The list of observations on the failures and shortcomings of educational planning in the past included the following:

(a) Educational planning has initially been "oversold": it has led people and governments—in a "euphoria" of planning—to expect more from it than it was realistically able to deliver in terms of development and change in educational systems;

(b) Models, methods, and tools of educational planning were implanted too uncritically into a wide variety of different educational, social, economic, and political situations;

(c) The development process, and the role of education therein, is so complex that the relatively simple and limited models of educational planning are not able to accommodate adequately the multitude of factors involved in the development of educational systems;

(d) Planning has been conceived and executed in a social vacuum, essentially as a technocratic activity, without adequate regard for the particular conditions, possibilities and constraints of a given cultural and social system;

(e) Educational planning has suffered from a lack of prior assessment of the feasibility of particular courses of action, and has been too loosely connected with other areas of educational management and administration to assure implementation of plans.

The list could be continued, and further references to reasons for the failure of educational planning are found in other parts of this report. But the cross-section of observations reported here is instructive in that it emphasizes the shortcomings of a too mechanical, technical, and apolitical notion of educational planning. Such a notion tends to overestimate the effectiveness of projection and other quantitative techniques, to underestimate the importance of qualitative, historical, and political factors in the development of education, and generally to oversimplify the complexity of the relationship between education and social change.

Planning as a function of its environment

If there was one notion that was perhaps most consistently and vigorously criticized by the seminar, it was that of the universality of planning or of any given approach to planning. Planning, it was argued, is meant to serve the purposes and needs of very specific educational, social, and political contexts, and hence has to adapt to these contexts in order to serve them well. Not only should educational planning reflect the specificity of national objectives, policies and goals, but it should actually help create and strengthen more authentic national systems of education through reform and innovation. In a related perspective, educational planning was seen as always taking place in the context of values, and thus as being unable to function in an "axiological vacuum". Even the time-honoured argument about the "rationality" of planning was found to be in need of revision since, both over time and across different societies and cultures, "what may be rational in one context may become a-rational in another, and again rational in yet another context".

Planning, in other words, does not have at all the same meaning in every context; which concept of planning is appropriate in a given setting depends very much on the nature of that setting—an observation which, as we shall see later, has profound implications for training in educational planning. Different kinds of societies need different kinds of planning, and it becomes an important task to identify those characteristics of a society which are particularly relevant to finding the particular shape and kind of planning that would be most appropriate to that society. The discussion brought together a number of such characteristics which, without any claim to completeness, would seem to constitute a first step towards a typology of the contextual conditions of planning. The following are some of the items on this tentative list:

— The degree of structural integration of a society (e.g., highly centralized *v.* highly decentralized systems);
— the kind of overall policy goals (e.g., rapid industrialization, development of rural areas, mass participation, etc.);
— the financial and other means at the disposal of the political authority;
— the degree of autonomy of the planner *vis-à-vis* the government;
— the degree to which a society allows conflict to express itself (through media, associations, dissenting groups and individuals, etc.);
— the capacity of societies to resolve conflict by peaceful means (persuasion, compromise, toleration of dissent, etc.); and
— the degree to which forms of popular participation are established or are possible within a society.

Whether or not and to what extent any of these (and certainly other) traits exist in a society will have a determining influence on the kind of educational planning that would be possible and effective in that society. To devise and pursue planning processes without careful regard for these contextual factors is likely, as experience has shown, to reduce the planning effort to irrelevance and ineffectiveness.

In this same category of considerations belongs the argument which has already been described as part of the report of Working Group II (see Chapter III), and which specifies different conceptions of educational planning as a function of the different orientations towards social change which the planner may have an option to adopt. It will be recalled that

- at the *functional* level, the planner is essentially concerned with serving to maintain the *status quo*,
- at the *reformist* level, the planner seeks, while remaining identified with the government, to bring about gradual change in the political basis of educational policy, and
- at the *radical* level, he would assume the role of social activist in order to work for fundamental structural change as a condition for further educational development.

The choice between these three options clearly has important individual dimensions in terms of the readiness of the planner to engage himself in one of them. At the same time, however, the double question of which of these options would be needed and which would be feasible depends very much on the configuration of social and political factors that is characteristic of a given society at a given point in its history. A society that is fully engaged in a process of social transformation and redistribution will need planners and a planning process that are fully compatible with the system's overall effort to transform its social structures. On the other hand, as was discussed in Working Group II, societies that are basically oriented towards maintaining the *status quo* and towards paternalistic forms of governance will have difficulty allowing or tolerating a more change-oriented and participatory planning process of the reformist or radical variety.

Educational planning and politics

The general argument about the concept of educational planning being a function of the kind of society which it is meant to serve leads inevitably to a further consideration of the relationship between educational planning and politics. In the broadest sense, the very decision on whether to plan or not to plan is a political act, as the intense political debate about economic planning in some Western countries has shown. Even where this matter is resolved in favour of planning, however, the nature of planning, especially in education, depends very much on the "political project" of a society, as was said in an earlier part of this report. Explicitly or implicitly, the "political project" has as its base an ideological position, a more or less specific vision of the future of the society to which those in power subscribe. This position may or may not be shared by the masses or by specific groups in the society, and to the extent that there is latent or overt disagreement on the "political project", educational planning faces a more or less delicate task of interpreting the relative weight of the various elements in the country's political system. As somebody in the discussion put it, educational planning is located at the intersection of at least three political forces:

- The institutionalized political power of the State;

— the political power of the social actors (masses, pressure groups, regional groups, etc.); and
— the political power of the planner.

In this perspective, the planner would not only have the task of analysing and interpreting the political factors that tend to determine the direction for the development of the educational system, but he would have a political role in his own right in which he would try either to utilize the "political space" which the other actors leave him, or to affect, with his own power of expertise, knowledge of the system, and political alliances within the system, the overall direction of the "political project". It would be inconceivable for most of those who expressed themselves on this point in the discussion that somebody as intimately linked and committed to the future of an educational system as the educational planner should not have a political identity and set of values of his own. To cast the planner in the role of a neutral and apolitical technician is to ignore the intensely political nature of planning the development and reform of education. At the extreme, as a number of contributions made clear, one would even have to conceive of educational planning as an "instrument of subversion" if there was no other way to achieve for education a future that would be humane and liberating.

Planning as process

There has been a tendency to consider planning primarily in terms of its product, i.e., the plan. One of the remarkable aspects of the discussion at Arc-et-Senans (as in similar discussions in recent years) was the strong emphasis on the process of planning itself. With only slight exaggeration, one could say that a majority of the participants were inclined to attach just as much importance to the process itself as to its results. Working Group I, as reported in the preceding chapter, went to great lengths in breaking down the planning process into its constituent parts,
— the upward flow of information,
— the choice of alternative courses of action, and
— the downward flow of decisions,
even though this is probably not the only way in which the various elements of the planning process could be conceived.

Another dimension that was stressed in the discussion was the co-operative nature of the planning process: planning as an exercise in co-operation between different elements and levels of the system was seen as an effective alternative to a form of planning which was characterized by the authoritarian handing-down of neat and consistent decisions. This notion of the planning process as an exercise in co-operation was seen also very much in pedagogical terms: a co-operative conception of the planning process as a means of making people and groups in the society understand better the choices they have and the consequences they would have to anticipate.

A good deal more will have to be said a little later in this chapter about the importance which the discussion attached to the notion of participation in planning. Both of these points, the emphasis on planning as process and the one on planning as participation, are closely related and reflect the strong sense of dissatisfaction with a conception of planning that was exclusively concerned with the formal outcome of the planning process, and ignored the many ways in which the process itself could affect not only those who are involved in it but also the society at large.

The role of the planner

If there is a need for rethinking the concept of educational planning along the lines reported so far, what does this mean for the role of the planner? If the notion of planning in education is no longer to be restricted to a matter of techniques, how do we redefine the role of a planner whom we used to characterize as a technician? Can the expanded notion of educational planning towards which the Arc-et-Senans seminar seemed to gravitate still be accommodated in a single role, or do we have to start thinking about a variety of roles all of which pertain to a more complex definition of the task of planning?

There is no single answer to these questions, and the seminar avoided the temptation of settling for replacing an obviously simplified role definition of the planner with another, equally inadequate one. However, a number of elements emerged from the discussion that ought to be taken seriously in any attempt to arrive at a new definition of what a "planner" in education is, even if that definition will eventually be such that it does require a division of labour among several different people with different competencies and skills.

For a start, a number of those competencies might merely be listed:

- The planner should be able to identify the implications of various courses of action, and to anticipate all possible external and environmental influences that are likely to affect their implementation;
- He should be a facilitator of change, an agent of change and, by that same token, a "political man in the widest sense of the word";
- The planner should be a "catalyst" in the development of projects and plans, somebody who brings a diverse set of ideas, aspirations, and needs into a coherent whole;
- He should be aware of the qualitative dimension of educational planning, and should understand the processes through which the quality of the educational process is determined;
- The planner should be a politician in his own right and try to affect the political decision-making process in the direction of his own ideas of the future of the educational system.

Clearly, not all of these definitions are mutually compatible; they reflect different priorities on what is needed in the further development of educational planning, and may eventually lead to the definition of more specific roles within a more global concept of educational planning. Whatever this future scenario may look like, however, it is clear from the discussion that it will contain at least four major elements:

(a) the planner as *researcher*—generating, commissioning, evaluating, updating, and utilizing an increasingly complex knowledge base on the dynamics of the educational system and its relationship to the processes of change that are going on in its social, economic, and political environment;

(b) the planner as *communicator*—providing a communication link between the expression of need at the base, the "upward flow of information", and the decision-making process;

(c) the planner as *advocate*—seeking and utilizing ways to bring his own values and ideas about the future of education and society to bear upon the process that sets the boundaries and directions of the planning process;

(d) the planner as *technician*— not limited to, but in command of, the methods and techniques of analysing both the present state of the educational system and the trends that are likely to determine its future shape, size, and quality, and duly critical in recognizing the limitations of such techniques.

While these elements are likely to describe the overall range of competencies and qualities that a more adequate definition of the task of educational planning will require, two further lines of argument from the discussion at the seminar are pertinent here. In keeping with what has been said before about the need to see the mode of educational planning very much as a function of its specific environment, the definition of what the educational planner should be, know, do and not do is again very much a function of the characteristics of the social and political system within which he has to operate. Educational planners, while carrying the same organizational label, may vary widely from one country to another as to their tasks, qualifications, and responsibilities—and, by consequence, their training.

The second point to be made here is the argument for a more diffuse notion of who is a planner in education. If the notion, discussed elsewhere in this report, of a more pervading, co-operative and participatory planning process in education is taken seriously, there are important planning tasks (albeit of a somewhat different kind) to be performed at various levels of the society. Most importantly, perhaps, there is the task of planning at the local level (what a participant in the seminar referred to as "barefoot planner")—generating, mobilizing, articulating information about the educational and developmental needs of the local community or region. At other, intermediate points of the upward and downward process, planning will require more of the "honest broker" type who can mediate between increasingly conflicting needs and aspirations. Capturing this more pervading notion of where planning occurs in a society, a participant concluded: "Educational planning goes beyond the planner—it is a task for the whole society."

On a slightly facetious note, the reader of this report should not be deprived of one of the many anecdotes of which the discussions at Arc-et-Senans were particularly rich. This one pertains specifically to the notion of the planner, and compares him to the famous Christopher Colombus. The result of the comparison is a striking resemblance: just like Colombus, the educational planner doesn't know where he is going, doesn't know where he is when he gets there, and—on top of it all—is travelling at government expense. . . .

C. Planning and the identification of needs

It goes almost without saying that (to quote from one of the seminar discussions) "any kind of planning should be based on some kind of a definition of needs". The question which occupied the seminar's attention to a considerable extent, however, was how this definition of needs could or should be accomplished. This concern seemed to stem from a belief that, conventionally, educational planning was largely based on a set of "predetermined ideas of needs" and that it was necessary to contemplate alternative forms of identifying needs which would provide for a more direct expression of what people expected in terms of educational development and change.

The key issue in this part of the discussion thus became participation. Participation in planning and in making decisions about educational futures on the part of those who would be affected by the results was seen as a possible alternative to the more hierarchical-bureaucratic-consensual models that had traditionally been more characteristic of educational planning in most countries. Views around the seminar table differed as to the feasibility and modality of participatory planning in education, but the importance of coming to terms with the role of the "public" in planning educational development was undisputed.

Participation in planning

Once again, the seminar was reminded that there was no universal solution which would equally well apply to all countries, and that this *caveat* applied to the issue of participation as well. The criteria of what does and does not constitute effective participation depend on a given situation: there are countries where formal voting procedures are a meaningful form of participation, while there are other countries where they are not. The decisive element is whether there is, beyond all rhetoric, a genuine political will to provide the country's "silent majorities" with an effective role in the planning of the country's future. If this is the case, participation will be more than a formal procedure for procedure's sake, but will serve as an effective instrument of emancipation of those at the base of the political and social pyramid, and will provide them, by virtue of their involvement, with a continuously increasing awareness not only of their own needs, but of the needs and the problems of the country at large. In this dual function of "liberation and education", participation also becomes an important instrument, as the report on Working Group III has already described, for counteracting the pressure of external influences on national development ideas and processes. It is only through a participatory process in which the base of the system is actively involved that a genuinely national "model" of development can be generated, even though one should be aware of the political dynamics that are likely to arise "between the conflicting forces of external dependency and the mobilization of popular participation", as one contribution to the discussion pointed out. If it is true that educational planning as we know it depends heavily on assumptions and models which are introduced from outside the national context, the development of participatory forms of devising future developments in education should have a similarly corrective function.

In discussing the question of participatory planning in education in more detail, members of the seminar shared both their experiences with successful forms of popular mobilization in educational development and their concerns over the feasibility and effects of such forms. Warnings that specific conditions in a given country may make full and open dialogue, let alone meaningful participation, difficult, were accompanied by the suspicion that, in many cases, participation serves as a pretext for the political authority to extract additional resources from a population without providing any real increase in their impact on the decision-making process. While recognizing the difficulties and possible abuses in making participation work, however, the feeling was expressed that difficulties and disappointments along this route do not invalidate the basic soundness and significance of the concept.

The question, however, remains of how participation is to be organized and, specifically, how the kinds of conflict are to be handled which are bound to arise between the interests of different sub-groups of the participating masses. Even though one takes for granted that the notion of consensual planning is to give way to a more realistic and, hence, conflictual reflection of reality, it remains a puzzling problem to reconcile conflicting choices made by different groups of the same national population at least to the extent of allowing a reasonably coherent national policy.

Communication and participation

While the seminar did not find a ready answer for so intractable a question, it did attach a great deal of importance to the role of communication in making participatory forms of planning work. In fact, effective communication—between the planners and the masses, between the planners and the political decision-makers, etc.—was seen as the most vital condition for the success of participation in planning. In this sense, and in keeping with similar arguments in other parts of the discussion, the educational planner was given a particularly important role as a communicator or facilitator of communication. The masses require assistance in the articulation of their needs and demands just as the political authorities may require assistance in understanding the message; where the future of education is concerned, both may depend on the educational planner as somebody whose understanding of social reality is such that he is capable of providing this crucial mediation. To the extent that the communication process can be made to work both ways, not only will the political decision-makers become more cognizant of the needs of their people, but the people in turn will become more conscious of the full range of possibilities, problems and constraints which their society faces, and will thus be able to express their needs in more enlightened and realistic terms. The quality of a process of consultation depends on the completeness and accuracy of the information base underlying the process, and it seems that the educational planner has a major role to play in building and sustaining that information base.

Participation is not limited to the involvement of the people in anticipating and planning the future of their educational system. It can also be an important approach to the ongoing evaluation and adjustment of educational developments and reforms. If the process of communication to which we have referred works, then it should provide valuable input into a system of accountability in which the community becomes the main arbiter of the success or failure of a given programme.

D. Information and implementation: underdeveloped areas of educational planning

A good many things seem to be in need of improvement where educational planning is concerned, but it was striking how consistently the seminar at Arc-et-Senans came back, in a variety of different contexts, to two aspects of educational planning which were felt to have been particularly neglected: the information on which educational planning is based and the implementation capacity of educational planning.

The information base of educational planning

"Information systems are the most underdeveloped part of educational systems", observed a participant, and found no disagreement. Many similar statements underlined both the importance of an adequate information base for effective educational planning and the general inadequacy of the actual information base in many countries. Criticisms dealt with:

- lack of completeness and accuracy in information on both the present state of education and the determinants of its future development;
- limitation of the information base to intra-educational data, and absence of data on social, economic and political factors which are of vital importance for anticipating the future development of education;
- unavailability of information to the planner;
- information that does not really convey a sense of the reality of the educational and social system;
- information that is systematically biased by groups in power in order to serve their purposes;
- lack of historical "depth" in the information base, etc.

Many of these criticisms carry implications for future efforts in establishing and maintaining solid and adequate sources of information as a basis for effective educational planning, and affect any future research agenda in educational planning (see next chapter). If it is of the utmost importance, as the seminar has persuasively argued, that the planner proceed in his task from a thorough and penetrating diagnosis of the present state of the educational system and of the factors that determine its present and future shape, such a diagnosis will require an extensive and dependable information base not only on the educational system (including such elements as information on the distributive aspects of the system in terms of both access and success), but also on the distribution of economic wealth, social status and political power in the society as the prime determinants of possible future policies for the development and reform of the educational system. In short, the main criteria that were expressed with regard to an adequate information base in educational planning were that such information be

- — realistic,
- — accessible,
- — verifiable,
- — comprehensive, and
- — explanatory (rather than merely descriptive).

In addition, the discussion stressed the need for a more explicit historical dimension in the information base for educational planning, especially from the point of view of better understanding, in the context of a given society, the complex dynamics of the relationship between education and social change.

As has been reported elsewhere in connection with the discussion in Working Group I, the seminar took on the whole a rather cautious and at times sceptical view of the feasibility of evaluation in educational planning. It did, however, and this is where the issue of evaluation touches upon the question of information, strongly support the need and importance of a process of "monitoring" (or "formative evaluation") of ongoing educational developments and reforms which would allow for the continuing adjustment of the process in the light of what the information gained from the monitoring would suggest about both the reactions of the masses and the emergence of unintended or "unplanned" consequences of particular policies.

The problem of implementing plans

For a good many plans which are nothing but exercises in wishful thinking or even futility, it is just as well that they never get implemented. However, even more serious and carefully designed plans in education encounter implementation problems with alarming frequency, and it was not surprising that the seminar considered the question of implementation as one of the most problematic and preoccupying aspects of the entire issue of educational planning. The problem results in part from the traditional image of educational planning and educational planners who were considered (and considered themselves) primarily as responsible for the design of plans, but had very little to do with understanding or coping with the problems of implementation.

The discussion at the seminar suggested two directions in which answers to the problem of implementation ought to be sought. In the first place, it will be necessary to make implementation a much more integral part of the concept of educational planning; even though there may continue to exist people and agencies which are primarily concerned either with design or with implementation problems, it is essential that there be a much more effective communication and interaction link between them. Unless the "design-planner" is exposed to the full range of problems which the "implementation-planner" faces, he will be unable to provide the kind of input that anticipates and accommodates the problems of implementation of a particular policy. The administration of educational policies faces a key challenge in solving the organizational needs of such a more broadly conceived notion of educational planning.

The problem of implementation in education has a vertical dimension as well, however, which is at least as important as the horizontal linkage between design and implementation at a given administrative level. In the final analysis, the implementation of plans for the development and reform of education takes place at the base of the system. Whatever decisions may have been taken at higher hierarchical levels, the key to the success or failure of a given plan lies in the hands of local teachers, administrators, parents. Many of the contributions to the discussion stressed the importance of paying much greater attention to the implementation capability of the local level in the educational system, and to make sure that the community at the base of the system has the information, the resources and, most important of all, the commitment necessary for the successful implementation of educational development programmes. The chances for this to happen will, of course, increase with the degree to which the community is involved in the formulation of such programmes in the first place. As Working Group I had already observed in its report, the question of implementation capacity at the base of the system is not so much a question of competence as it is a question of the real power which the people and institutions at the base have for taking the implementation of educational plans in their own hands.

It was in part with regard to the implementation problem in educational planning that the seminar paid particular attention to what Damiba had to say in his paper (see Chapter II) about planning education by project. Such an approach allows a country to pursue a more "experimental" approach in the determination of the major directions of its educational policies, and provides greater flexibility in trying out and correcting different implementation strategies as the experience with different projects accumulates.

E. The international context of educational planning

From the outset of the seminar, and especially in the light of Damiba's paper, the impact on educational planning of influences originating from outside a given country was one of the most pervading themes of the discussion, reflecting the importance which members of the seminar attached to the international dimension of educational planning. The tenor of the discussion of this particular issue was highly critical: the fact that educational planning was in so many ways determined by outside factors was considered to be at the root of many of the weaknesses which planning in education was found to have. Difficult as it is to separate from one another the elements of external influence on planning the development and reform of education, especially in developing countries, the discussion suggests three distinct, if interrelated elements of this influence: the overall context of economic and political dependency which characterizes many developing countries; the "international model" of educational planning; and the particular problems arising out of external financing of educational development. Obviously, these three aspects hang together very closely, and one cannot be understood without the other. For purposes of reporting on the seminar's discussions, however, dealing with them somewhat separately seems to be useful.

Dependency and education

Most developing countries are, albeit in different degrees, tied to and dependent upon an international network of economic wealth and political power over which they have little or no control. Patterns of trade, investment, and profit distribution are set and controlled by the richer industrialized countries of Western Europe and North America, and both the resources available for allocation in a dependent country and, in many instances, the priorities for such allocation are determined by decisions which are taken not by the country itself, but by governmental and corporate agencies which are guided primarily by the interests of their constituents and shareholders.

It would be surprising if, in such a pattern of dependency, education would be an exception and remain unaffected by this complex set of external conditions. Given the high degree to which education in any society is a function of its social, economic and political environment, the development and reform of educational systems in a dependent country are conditioned by external forces not only in terms of resources available to the country for investment in education, but also by such factors as the development of the labour market, patterns of internal and external migration, consumption patterns, expectations of social mobility, etc., all of which are in their turn affected by the international alliance of dominant economic interests. Dependent countries face the awkward choice of either cutting themselves loose from the international network on which they depend—at the expense of great and perhaps fatal losses in resources—or planning their development in compliance with the interests and aspirations of the dominant partners in this international power structure. However that decision is made, it would be unrealistic to conceive of the task of planning the development and reform of education in dependent countries without the full awareness of this powerful conditioning element.

The "international model" of educational planning

In speaking of the many kinds of dependencies in which a developing country finds itself, a participant from a developing country suggested that, in many ways, educational planning itself was part of this pattern of dependence on the outside world. Views like this one were expressed by a number of participants and reflect not only the fact that many developing countries adopted certain forms of educational planning under the pressure of outside funding agencies, but also the increasing realization that universalistic models of educational planning are unable to come to terms with the specific social, political and educational conditions in a given country. But the model, inappropriate as it may be, is hanging on tenaciously: administrators as well as researchers have internalized it and defend its continued existence as a vested interest; basic concepts of what a curriculum, a diploma and a teacher are have spread through the world as part of the model, regardless of whether they are appropriate; alternatives which do not carry the legitimation of the model—such as part-time schooling, out-of-school educational programmes, etc.—have a hard time fighting the connotation of second-class opportunities; and educational planning in many countries perpetuates the fallacy that the development and reform of educational systems follows from a set of manipulative techniques and exercises. The discussions at the seminar showed that the search for alternative models is being pursued, especially in the direction of seeking alternative targets for educational planning that differ from the expansion of existing school systems and of developing a more participatory process for setting the course of educational development, but the persistence of the conventional, international model, backed as it is by the dominant economic interests of the international community and by the expectations of outside funding agencies, continues to be a veritable obstacle.

External funding and educational planning

With a strong undertone of resignation, Damiba had concluded in his paper that any kind of coherent educational planning was meaningless if, as in the case of his and many other developing countries, outside aid has to supply 74 per cent of the funds required. One can hardly think of a more poignant illustration of the virtually irreconcilable conflict between a country's desire for a coherent effort for the development and reform of its own educational system and the often divergent agendas and criteria imposed upon it by the variety of national and international funding agencies on which it depends. In the judgment of one of the participants, international banks and other financing agencies are the real actors in educational planning in developing countries, and the echo to this observation among other participants reflected both its accuracy and the difficulty of convincing such agencies of what the country itself considers to be its needs. The well-known preference of many donor agencies for assistance to the development of higher education rather than to less conspicuous and tangible developments in rural primary education was cited as one of many cases in point; others include the insistence by donor agencies on extensive evaluations which are extremely costly in scarce local manpower and often of dubious diagnostic value, or the external specification of training needs for local personnel to be involved in externally funded projects.

The triple jeopardy of foreign economic domination, an alien model of educational development and planning, and high dependence on outside financing for educational development turns the development of genuinely autochthonous models of education and educational planning into a veritable dilemma. Against this background, it was easy to understand how one of the participants, with reference to the topic of the seminar and to the often rather conceptual nature of its discussions, could observe: "For us, for my own country at least, the 'new tasks' consist essentially in inventing autogenous processes (of planning);

these processes can only be derived from the daily and permanent contact with our rural populations in order to invent not only the forms of education which are most appropriate to their aspirations but also the techniques through which these new forms of education can be brought about."

V. Training needs and research priorities in educational planning

Throughout the discussion at the Arc-et-Senans seminar and the various parts of this report, the question of future directions for research and training in educational planning has been addressed, implicitly or explicitly, in many different ways. This is hardly surprising in view of the many criticisms that have been expressed with regard to educational planning as we used to know it; if there is indeed, as the seminar seems to suggest, a substantially new agenda in planning the development and reform of education, it is bound to have serious implications for the training of the people to be involved and for the kind of research that will have to furnish an appropriate knowledge base.

This last chapter seeks to review some of the observations made at the seminar on research and training needs in educational planning. It draws for this purpose both on the plenary discussions and on those parts of the reports of the three working groups which dealt specifically with these implications.

A. Training in educational planning

Even before the Arc-et-Senans seminar, the International Institute for Educational Planning had begun to take a closer look at changing training needs in educational planning, and had initiated a special research project in this area. In the autumn of 1976 an international seminar was held at the IIEP to discuss the first findings of this project.[1] Weiler's paper for Arc-et-Senans (see Chapter II) included part of the agenda which had been derived from these earlier explorations.

The seminar at Arc-et-Senans tried to draw some initial conclusions for the training of educational planning personnel from its critical review of the state of the art of educational planning. It noted at the outset, in the words of the report of Working Group II, that most of current training in educational planning is oriented to the maintenance or the expansion of existing educational systems, and contributes very little to making educational planning a more effective instrument in the accomplishment of educational change and reform.

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[1] Claude Tibi, assisted by Stella McDowall, *Changing needs for training in educational planning and administration: final report of an IIEP seminar.* Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1977.

The notion that planning does not have the same meaning in every context is equally applicable to the training of educational planning personnel. Just as the specific social, political and economic context of a given country calls for a specific concept and approach in educational planning, which may be different from that used elsewhere, so does the training of educational planners for a given situation require a great deal of specificity in content and orientation. The dependence of the success of educational planning upon a complex set of conditions and constraints in a given society requires that the planner be thoroughly familiar with the specific context within which he is to operate, and that this approach to planning the future of that society's educational system be appropriate to that particular context.

Given the long-standing belief among many planners and trainers of planners in a set of universal principles of educational planning, this need for specificity in training calls for a substantial re-orientation. Case studies of educational planning, especially of planning failures, can be of considerable help in demonstrating concretely to trainers and trainees alike that there is no single approach to solving the problems of educational development and reform across a variety of different socio-political systems.

For training programmes that operate on an international level, the strong emphasis in the seminar on country-specific training provides food for thought and for re-thinking the rationale and approach of their training programmes. Country-specific training will not be impossible at the international level, but will require an approach that depends much more heavily on the individual trainee's specific experience and problem orientation.

Many participants saw training as one of the most conspicuous ways in which external influence on a country's educational future makes itself felt. This view led to an added argument for increased autonomy in the training of educational planning (and other) personnel in the interests of a more authentic orientation of the educational planning and policy-making process to a country's needs.

Still along the lines of coming to more specific role definitions and, hence, training needs in educational planning, the seminar's point about the need for planners of one kind or another at different points in the system should be recalled. If a more differentiated and participatory notion of planning in education leads to a spectrum of roles all the way from the planning officer at the centre of administrative activity to the "barefoot planner" at the base of the system, the corresponding variation in training needs for these various roles will require a much more differentiated approach to the training of planning personnel. While the different roles may have to have in common a rather thorough understanding of the social and political dynamics of the system as a whole, their specific tasks at various points in the system will also be reflected in specific training needs—e.g., more of an anthropological training for those working in local communities, more information about the external conditions of educational development for those at the centre, etc.

Skills and techniques

Most people involved, at whatever point in the system, in the planning of education, will continue to need a certain set of computational, organizational, statistical and fiscal skills. Precisely which skills will be most appropriate is again a function of the particular situation and, among other things, of the kinds of assistance, electronic or otherwise, available to the planner. The more important message to convey to the planner, however—to judge from the discussion in the seminar and especially the report of Working Group II—is that none of these skills and techniques, however refined and sophisticated, is capable of solving any of the problems which countries face in the development of their educational systems.

Besides putting the role and importance of planning skills and techniques into their proper place, the more co-operative nature of future planning processes led Working Group II to emphasize the need for a different set of skills which, derived from group dynamics and an understanding of small-group behaviour, would facilitate the kind of interaction with other groups in which planners would be increasingly engaged.

Training for communication

Perhaps the most important implications for training which emerged from the discussion at Arc-et-Senans can be subsumed under the notion of communication. The emphasis on the process instead of only the results of planning, the importance that was attached to more co-operative and participatory forms of planning and decision-making in education, and the notion of the various mediating or broker roles which the planner might assume all point to the importance of substantial skills in and commitment to effective communication as one of the main requisites for a successful planner.

In the view of Working Group I, one of the most important prerequisites for being an effective communicator is humility—the ability not to overestimate the importance of his own role in the development of education. The humble planner will be better able to listen to the needs and the advice of others, will be more readily prepared to question his own assumptions and the solidity of his information, and will allow and encourage alternative propositions and solutions. In addition to this basic orientation, the role of the planner as communicator along the vertical axis of the social system involves a particular set of skills that enable him, on the one hand, to be perceptive to the expression, often inarticulate and confusing, of needs from the groups, communities and regions at the base of the system, and, on the other hand, to be duly sophisticated in understanding the dynamics of the political decision-making process. There are elements of applied social anthropology and applied political science involved in that kind of competence, and it can once again only be a highly specific kind of training that will build up these kinds of skills within the context of a given country.

A related skill has to do with the pedagogical responsibilities of the planner. If the planner, as a number of contributions to the discussion have suggested, has the responsibility both to provide the public with an understanding of the assumptions and expectations underlying particular plans and programmes and to assist planners and planning units at different levels of the system in the accomplishment of their respective tasks, his is a substantial training task in its own right, for which his training should adequately prepare him.

Above all, however, effective communication is only secondarily a matter of specific skills and competencies. Primarily, it is a matter of attitude, and of accepting, as part of the planner's own set of values, the need for an open, co-operative and participatory process of preparing the development and reform of educational systems.

Research training for planners

The seminar has discussed the knowledge needs of educational planning at great length, and the next section of this chapter will explicitly deal once more with the research implications of some of the seminar's discussions. The importance of re-thinking and re-formulating the knowledge needs of educational planning has, however, some important implications for training as well. It will be recalled that among the role elements of the educational planner which were derived from a changing concept of educational planning, there was also that of the planner as researcher, who would contribute to generating, maintaining and monitoring the knowledge-base on which effective educational planning depends. While it would be unrealistic to place the entire burden of satisfying the knowledge needs of educational planning on the planner himself, it is essential that the planner possess sufficient critical ability to assess the reliability, validity, and utility of such information as he has to work with. Unless the planner himself has an understanding of the complex social, economic and political conditions which intervene in the development and reform of educational systems, he will repeat the mistakes of so many of his predecessors and plan educational development in a vacuum. To inculcate into the educational planner both the attitude and some of the basic skills of a researcher will substantially enhance his ability to assess critically the information on which his planning efforts are based. The detailed analysis of a given educational situation in its social, economic and political context is a *sine qua non* for realistic planning in education, and the educational planner should be equipped to play a major role in this analysis.

Understanding social change

All the skills of co-operation, communication, and research will remain relatively meaningless as long as the educational planner does not see his own role as part of the complex relationship between education and social change. He has to understand that, in large measure, the direction of educational development and reform in a society is not independent of the society's overall orientation to social change, and therefore has to develop a particularly perceptive sense of the underlying currents of social, political and economic change or non-change in his society in order to understand the degrees of freedom which his own planning efforts have. Such an awareness will come from the study of problems and difficulties which his or other countries have experienced in implementing particular educational policies, and will include an awareness of the patterns of conflict which are likely to arise over educational development and reform issues. From the point of view of training, the exposure of the trainee to those kinds of case studies and to the kind of "epistemological training" (Working Group II) which consists of making him conscious of the implicit models behind different planning techniques and approaches is probably the most important one among the new tasks of training educational planners.

B. Research needs in educational planning

As we have seen, there was a strong note in the seminar's discussions underlining the need for making research a much more central and integral element in educational planning, and a number of participants contributed experiences from their own countries on attempts to tie research and planning activities in education more closely together. This section bears on this suggestion, but it also raises the broader question of what kind of knowledge is needed in order for planning to play a more realistic and effective role in the development and reform of education.

The most important function of research with regard to educational planning is diagnostic. The careful and comprehensive analysis of the actual state of the educational system and of its determinants in the economic, social and political environment will provide the most important input into any effort to anticipate and plan the future development of the educational system. Most of the research that will yield this kind of information, however, will be addressed to areas which are strictly outside education proper. Given what the discussion has emphasized about the non-educational conditions and constraints in educational development, it is essential that the knowledge-base for educational planning include a fairly thorough assessment of the main currents of social change. This will include information on such matters as the distribution of economic wealth, the social and economic correlates of regional disparities, the relative influence of different political groups in the decision-making process, the degree of "conflict toleration" in the society, etc. The list is illustrative, but suggests a rather broad approach to studying what one of the contributors to the discussion called "the conditions for the impact of educational planning on the reality of the social and educational system"—feasibility studies in a wider and more comprehensive sense.

It was noteworthy how frequently participants in the seminar reiterated the need for this kind of research to include a major historical dimension. Since the aim of the research that has been described is to understand more fully and reliably the dynamics of the relationship between education and its social environment, the yield from any cross-sectional analysis at a particular point in time is necessarily limited. It requires the more comprehensive perspective which only historical analysis offers to arrive at a more valid assessment of the relative weight and force of different elements in the social and political fabric of a given country. The social, economic and political mechanisms which lie behind present patterns of educational inequalities are only a case in point.

It is not surprising that the discussion about research raised once again the issue of autonomy and dependence. Even more than in training, the research scene in areas pertinent to educational planning in most developing countries is heavily populated not only by foreign or foreign-trained researchers, but—even more significantly—by a host of research paradigms which, given their origin in very different cultural and social contexts, may or may not be appropriate for answering the questions faced by a developing country. "We have internalized the international model not only as planners, but as researchers as well," as one of the participants observed. Neither the seminar nor this report are the place to explore the full dimension of this issue of the appropriateness or inappropriateness of some of the paradigms and assumptions that govern contemporary research, especially in the social sciences, but the issue belongs on the agenda of any future effort to come to terms with the question of building an appropriate knowledge base for development policies in general and for educational planning in particular.

As far as specific topics for a future research agenda in educational planning were concerned, the seminar had a number of specific suggestions in the papers prepared by Hallak and Weiler. Of these, especially the suggestions on the need to study the experience of failure in educational planning and reform, and to develop a more encompassing set of research endeavours on the relationship between education and work (industrial democracy, labour market segmentation, technological progress and the structure of qualification, education and self-employment, etc.) found particularly strong support.

In keeping with the seminar's emphasis on the open and participatory nature of the planning process, however, the most important research task in educational planning remains the careful identification and review of the society's and its members' needs. To the extent that it succeeds in making these needs transparent, research renders a vital service to responsive educational planning.

APPENDIX

Schooling and future society

Johan Galtung

Editor's note

Professor Johan Galtung, who holds the Chair in Conflict and Peace Research at the University of Oslo, had been invited to the Arc-et-Senans seminar, but was unable to attend owing to other commitments. As a contribution to the seminar's discussions, he kindly made this paper available to the participants; since it is pertinent to many of the issues covered in the seminar, it was decided to include it as an Appendix to this volume. The paper, which was also published in *School Review* (August 1975, pp. 533-568) is reproduced here with the permission of the author and of the University of Chicago Press.

Introduction

This essay is concerned with schooling and the future. As such it has to do with the future of human society, and there are some assumptions underlying the analysis that might just as well be spelt out from the very beginning.

First, it is assumed that education is rapidly becoming a key element in the general social structure. This is a somewhat trite statement and can be given more precise meaning only if it is seen as opposed to the commonly held idea, especially in classical marxism, that the economic sector (particularly the organization of production) harbours the key to social understanding and social transformation. Certainly, the suggestion here is not to substitute one single-cause theory for another, but to see education as more or less equally basic. In other words, it is assumed that changes brought about in the sector of education will have deep side-effects all over society.

Second, the future of education in general, and the future of schools in particular, cannot be understood in isolation. It has to be conceived of in a social context. In much of future studies that social context is essentially taken for given—it is our contemporary liberal society—with its slow, relatively continuous and relatively balanced transformation, within a given matrix. We shall make no such assumption; rather, it will be assumed that this very society will continue to be the target of very fundamental criticism, much of which has to do precisely with the structure of education. In other words, the transformation of schools and education will be seen as a part of general social transformation, partly caused by it, partly causing it.

Third, in order to conceive of general social transformation, extrapolation within the given social context is insufficient. It is assumed that there is a basic transformation ahead of us, something that has to do with a transition from more vertical, inequitable towards more horizontal, equitable societies.[1] In all probability

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[1] For a general presentation of this way of thinking see the author's *Structural pluralism and the future of human society.*

This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Social Science Research Council, London, March 1974. An earlier version of the paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of Norsk Pedagogikklag, Stavanger, February 1972, at the inaugural session of the Austrian Political Academy, Vienna, February 1973, and as lectures for students of pedagogy, University of Oslo, October 1973. The paper was also debated at the institute seminar, Institute of Sociology, University of Oslo, May 1974. I am indebted to discussions in all these places, but the responsibility for the conclusions drawn rests entirely with the author.

this change is not going to be pleasant for those on top of our present social structure—not only the capitalists singled out as victims in marxist analysis, but equally or even more so the highly educated, the intellectuals, the professionals—*us*.

I consider this last point rather important. There has always been something artificial, even escapist in conventional leftist critique where top intellectuals more or less use marxist instruments to stigmatize and exorcise the top people in the economic sector, the rich, the owners of means of production—the private and state capitalists. It has been convenient to see the enemy on the other side of the fence, and—needless to say—this feeling has been richly reciprocated. What is presented in this paper, however, is a view complementing the view just mentioned, talking less about the sellers and buyers of labour, the underprivileged and overprivileged—and much more about the undereducated and the overeducated, well knowing that the author himself belongs in the latter category. What that means, however, is not that one has received too much education but that one is put into a social structure where this education is immediately converted into many other social benefits, one of them being *power*. The mechanisms by which this happens will to some extent be explored below, as well as some ideas about how this would increasingly become a social issue with highly polarizing effects and lead to some type of struggle that eventually will bring about a more basic transformation than those currently contemplated by the Ministries of Education in western, industrialized, liberal societies.

This is the background for the analysis offered in this paper. But, to gain in perspective, we want to start by contrasting Ministries of Education with a non-existing ministry—in a little parable.

1. A parable: the Ministry of Eating

We assume that *education* is one of man's fundamental needs, others being food, clothes, shelter, health. However, there is a very basic difference in the approach taken by contemporary governments in the "developed" part of the world—and by implication almost everybody in the world today—when it comes to the satisfaction of these needs. More precisely, there is the difference between the government's participation in making the means of satisfaction available, and prescribing in detail how the needs are to be satisfied. Thus, many governments have ministries of food and there is even a UN Specialized Agency in that field, but no government to our knowledge has a Ministry of Eating. On the other hand, the Ministries of Education do considerably more than just make education available: they are, in fact, to a large extent ministries of schooling. So, to gain in perspective as to what this means, let us imagine the Ministry of Eating.

In doing so there is Eugene Richter's *Pictures of the socialistic future* to draw upon.[1] This satire, or negative utopia as we might say today, appeared in the 1980s and was used as we use it here, essentially as a political weapon (Richter was the leader of the Liberal Party in the German *Reichstag*). We quote from the section dealing with "The New State Cookshops":

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[1] Included in a very useful reader, M. L. Berneri, *Journeys to Utopia* (New York, Schocken Books, 1971) pp. 281-292. The passage quoted in the essay is from pp. 288-89.

> In the State cookshops everything, even to the smallest details, has been anticipated and settled beforehand. No one person obtains the smallest preference over others. The picking and choosing amongst the various State cookshops cannot, of course, be tolerated. Each person has the right to dine at the cookshop of the district in which his dwelling is situated. The chief meal of the day is taken between 12 o'clock and 6 in the evening. Everyone has to report himself at the cookshop of his district, either during the mid-day rest or at the close of the day.
>
> I am sorry to say that I can now no longer take my meals with my wife except on Sundays, as I have been accustomed to do for the last twenty-five years, inasmuch as our hours of labour are now entirely different. . .
>
> It is an inspiring thought to reflect that in every State cookshop in Berlin on one and the same day exactly the same dishes are served. As each establishment knows how many visitors it has to count upon, and as these visitors are saved all the embarrassment of having to choose from a lengthy bill of fare, it is clear that no time is lost; whilst there is also none of that waste and loss consequent upon a lot of stuff being left, which circumstance used so much to enhance the price of dining at the restaurants of the upper classes. Indeed, this saving may well be reckoned amongst the most signal triumphs of the socialistic organization. . . .
>
> All the portions served out are of the same size. One insatiable fellow to-day who asked for more was rightly served by being heartily laughed at: for what more deadly blow could be levelled at one of the fundamental principles of equality? For the same reason the suggestion to serve out smaller portions to women was at once indignantly rejected.

One might now build upon Richter's parable and imagine a much more advanced Ministry of Eating than the one behind Richter's Cookshops. For instance, a Ministry of Eating with any self-respect would care for the whole population; it would see to it that eating is properly done by all age-groups, children, adolescents and adults. But should they have the same food? No, that would reflect lack of understanding of how needs are age-specific, not only in terms of the quantity needed, but also in terms of kind of food. Just as people have *talent* they also have *taste;* a basic task of the eating establishments should therefore be to make people become aware of their basic taste-inclination. Once that awareness has surfaced the person should make his choice, so to speak develop his line of eating, and it is the task of the state to make this line (within a reasonable range) available to him. Thus, as he and she proceed through life an increasing differentiation will take place, starting with a *primary level* of eating with many kinds of dishes available but at a very simple level, proceeding to a *secondary level* where some fundamental choices have already been made and the quality is better, and then onwards to the *tertiary level* of eating where differentiation has been brought to a level of specificity that corresponds to highly developed taste, and the quality is first rate (see Figure 1).

Of course, it is always to be foreseen that there will be people who have not come to sufficient taste-awareness at the time when basic decisions have to be made: at the ages of 14 and 19. There should be a provision in the system for such people,

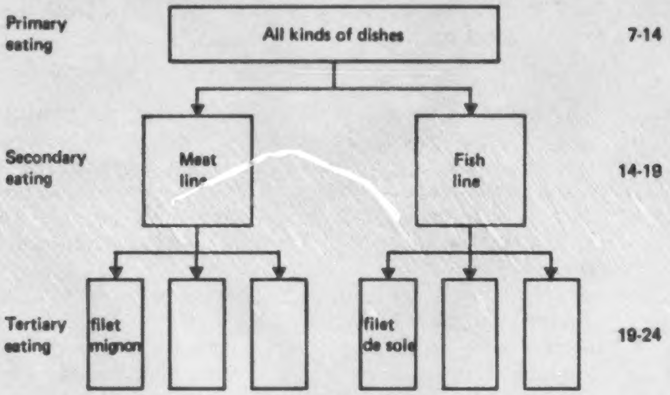

FIGURE 1.

they should be permitted to make a cross-over, subject to decisions made by a Board of Review. Also, if at the tertiary level somebody wants a specialized eating line on the other side of the board he should not have to take the whole secondary line for that purpose; the last year should be sufficient to provide a basis of a more general nature that would develop his tastes in the new direction. Needless to say, however, there is a limit to how many such changes any single person can make during his life: in general, once a line has been chosen one would expect the citizen to stick to it. Frequent changes of taste would be not only a sign of tastelessness, they would be the typical mark of a rather wishy-washy person. Such persons exist, it will be one of the tasks at the primary eating level to develop ways of locating them so that their fundamental taste-awareness could be developed as early in life as possible.

From the point of view of planning the scheme offers extremely important potentials: one would know what food to provide for how many citizens, regardless of age level. This would not be subject to sudden and unpredictable changes. True, the system gives to each citizen the freedom of choice, at the ages of 14 and 19 respectively, as is natural in a democratic society, but the choices are public and there is a commitment behind them: hence a basis for planning, for budgeting...

And so on, and so forth.

So, why is it that we do not have this type of ministry? For one simple reason: one may assume that people are sufficiently motivated to eat to do so with no further encouragement, neither of the carrot nor of the stick types. There is general trust in people where eating is concerned—they may eat the wrong things but eat they will if there is a supply and they can afford it. But when it comes to schooling there is an equally general *lack* of trust in people's desire to be educated, hence the need for a very elaborate machinery combining coercion to get people into the system (compulsory schooling under the law), adding promises of remuneration to make them have more of it—offering visions of prestige, remuneration, power—roughly proportionate to the number of years of schooling. Whereas eating is seen as inherently rewarding, in need of no further motivation, negative or positive, schooling is seen as badly in need of external sources of motivation.

But does this not merely add up to one simple conclusion: that the two phenomena are incomparable? No, for just as the organization of schooling may serve as a dystopia if it is used as a model for eating—maybe eating may serve as more of a utopia if it is used as a model for schooling? In other words, maybe we could learn a lot from the way we actually do take our food, in most societies, and translate it into a model for schooling?

We shall try to do exactly that, but in order to avoid that this become a completely empty exercise in utopia-construction a critique of contemporary schooling practices is indispensable.

2. A critique of schooling

Schools exist in a social setting; this social setting has to be characterized. The basic social characteristics of our industrialized, western societies will for our purposes be set down as follows:

- I. *Social structure*
    - (1) Verticality, inequality, vertical division of labour
    - (2) Individualism, diversity, dissimilarity
- II. *Economic structure*
    - (1) The idea of processing
    - (2) The idea of substitutability

The two characteristics of social structure that we have chosen as a point of departure for the discussion combine together into what has elsewhere been referred to, and elaborated, as a Model II society, the liberal society.[1] In this connection it is unnecessary to draw upon all of that, suffice it only to say that steep verticality and an emphasis on individualism combine into a pattern of *individual mobility*. The goal of life is to *succeed*, to succeed is to move upwards, and society is set up in such a way that it permits some upward mobility for a certain fraction of the members of society. This social formation could be contrasted with a vertical collectivist structure where mobility is frowned upon, or even completely absent. But it should also be contrasted with a horizontal collectivist society where interaction is set up in such a way that it is not much more beneficial to some than to others.[2]

This last point has to be delved into to become meaningful.

There are several ways in which participation in interaction may be beneficial to some rather than to others. Let us for the sake of simplicity divide them into two: those who become *rich* (an increase of *having*), those who become *enriched* (an increase in *being*). Accumulation of profits would be an obvious example of the former, mind expansion due to participation in fascinating, engaging work would be an example of the latter. Hence, one basic problem in the analysis of social structure would be to find to what extent society is set up in such a way that interaction cycles are created with benefits of either or both kinds accumulating unevenly or evenly. Vertical society, needless to say, would be characterized by uneven accumulation.

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[1] See the author's *Structural pluralism . . .*, op. cit., particularly pp. 274-279, and his *Christianity and the fight for peace.*

[2] The type of model one would have in mind would be something like the People's commune in contemporary China.

Economic structure is closely related to this, but the way that we conceive of that concept here is more material. More particularly, we are thinking of the very useful distinction between extraction of raw materials, their processing and their distribution as well as the administration of the entire process; the distinction between primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of production. The emergence of processing is identified as *industrialization*, the emergence of distribution as *commercialization*; if both are negated one would have a society consisting of self-sufficient units (individuals, families or groups) living off nature, either extracting directly from it or preparing nature in order to permit extraction. To permit industrialization the conventional production factors, raw materials, raw labour and capital, have to be brought together at one place—it is in their action upon each other that products are produced. In order to permit commercialization products have to be moved and exchanged; for that reason means of transportation/communication are for commercialization the same as means of production are for industrialization.

Underlying most industrialization and commercialization is the idea of substitutability. Both patterns are based on the idea that industry and commerce are going to continue, as much as possible in an uninterrupted flow. For this to happen there has to be a high level of standardization: raw materials, raw labour and capital are pumped into the machinery in an endless flow, but since the machinery (the means of production) is set to receive certain inputs in order to produce the desired output the inputs have to be substitutable for each other. One lump of raw material has to be as good as the preceding one in order for one finished product to be as good as the preceding one. And the same applies to commerce: it is predicated on the assumption that experience made with one product is valid as a basis for predicting what other products of the same kind will be like. Needless to say, underlying this fundamental characteristic of "modern society" is insight into general and operative principles, in other words science and technology.

There are some variations within the societies that are based on the social structure and the economic structure just described. Thus, much contemporary political theory, particularly based on differences between the socialist countries (Soviet Union and Eastern Europe) and the capitalist countries (United States and Western Europe) centres around the factors of "individualism" and "ownership of means of production". Individualism is seen in terms of the individual's own right to choose, his freedom of expression and freedom of impression. In other words, the focus is placed on the mechanism of differentiation rather than on the differentiation itself. Thus, in the Soviet Union people are also neatly divided into all kinds of professions, high and low, as they are in the United States and probably mainly out of their free choice, but even if it were not out of their free choice differentiation with individuals as the ultimate sorting unit would still be a basic characteristic of society.

As to the ownership of means of production: there is no doubt that this is important since it affects the use to which the surplus value resulting from industrialization and commercialization can be put. It is not obvious, however, that it makes much difference in whose hands the decision-making is; at best this is one among very many conditions. Incidentally, that view also has the flaw of overlooking the important role played by means of transportation/communication, focusing too one-sidedly on the means of production.

One of the many dangers in singling out these two dimensions, as in the liberal critique of socialist society and the marxist critique of capitalist society respectively, is a tendency (certainly most pronounced in the liberal critique) to forget about the second dimension. But it is quite possible to set up a production process in such a way that the means of production are collectivized and everybody gets the same material benefits; yet some people have much more interesting, mind-expanding jobs than others. Similarly, substitutability of one person for another in the production process does not disappear with the collectivization of means of production or salary equality; on the contrary, such transformations may even facilitate substitutability because people become more similar.

It is not our task here to go deeper into this than we need in order to say something about schooling. However, we have to justify the point made in the introduction: that education in general and schooling in particular must be analysed in a social setting. The reason is that we think the society with the four characteristics mentioned above is beset with some very basic problems, and for that reason is likely to undergo many sharp, discontinuous and probably also disagreeable changes in the relatively near future[1]—from the United States through Western and Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union (it will be noticed that the analytical dimensions emphasize their similarities).

Why? Simply because *verticality* is inextricably associated with exploitation of those at the bottom, in the poorest countries so much so that they do not even have their fundamental needs satisfied, in the richer countries by tying the overwhelming majority of the population to boring, even personality-contracting jobs; because *individualism* detaches individuals from each other, even pitting them against each other in relentless competition for mobility; because *processing* in the way mentioned serves to move production factors to places of accumulation, thus creating steep centre-periphery gradients within and between nations; and because *substitutability* also applies to people, making them into spare parts in the productive machinery, thus creating mass alienation. This is a rather long register of sins, by no means unknown, and it shows up in such phenomena as material and spiritual starvation, psychosomatic symptoms related to loneliness and competition, enrichment of the centre and impoverishment of the periphery, basic uncertainty about the meaning of the whole thing. The system can be kept floating to the extent that it provides bread and circuses for the masses: in the periphery (masses) of the Periphery (countries) however, it does not even do that, and the results are forthcoming.[2]

Obviously, with this kind of perspective on the dominant social formation of the world today and its future—with which one may agree or not—any effort to talk about "schooling in future society" would not take the form of a simple extrapolation from the present, for instance in terms of number of pupils, number of teachers, number of schools. On the contrary, future studies in this field would have to deal with the crisis of the social order depicted, and the role of education and schooling in that connection.

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[1] The problems we are thinking of have mostly to do with all the characteristics that have recently come to the foreground: psychosomatic symptoms caused by stress, all the consumption of pills, etc.—in other words, it has to do with mental, psychological aspects of exploitation more than with material aspects, since abject poverty to a large extent has been abolished in rich European societies (but not in the United States).

[2] The "results" we are thinking of here are, of course, the mass revolts that have taken place in Periphery countries in this century. More particularly, we are thinking of the fourteen socialist revolutions (nine countries in eastern Europe, four in Asia and one in Latin-America/Cuba) that all took place in the periphery of the capitalist system.

Our thesis is simple: *schools are partly a reproduction, partly a reinforcement, of the social and economic structure of society at large.* Of course, by being a reproduction, by mirroring macro-society in the microcosm of the school, even of the classroom, there is already a reinforcement: because the process of schooling is a way of getting acquainted with general social patterns, even to the point of internalizing them. But in addition to that schools also serve the social order in a more direct manner, to be indicated below. Thus, there are two hypotheses linking the fate of schools to the fate of society: an indirect one in terms of reproduction and a direct one in terms of reinforcement. But, referring to the points made in the introduction: we are not at all postulating that changes in the schools will come as a tail-effect of changes in society at large. On the contrary, the question to be discussed in the following section is to what extent the linkage between the two can make schools more of a pivot element in social transformation.

However, to delve into this more has to be said about the two hypotheses, about indirect and direct linkage.

1. Reproduction. That the whole schooling system serves as an illustration of *verticality* is in no need of elaboration. There is ranking within ranking within ranking: pupils are ranked in terms of ability, classes or forms are ranked numerically as rungs on a ladder within a school system, the systems are ranked in terms of primary, secondary, tertiary. It is probably only the military sector of society, and some very few others, that can muster a verticality as pronounced and formalized as the school system.

But in addition to this there is the fundamental teacher/pupil professor/student verticality. There are those who teach and there are those who learn. Moreover, this distinction is correlated with age, thereby reproducing the parent/child relation.

Individualism is not difficult to trace in the school system either, for the basic assumption is that the individual is the ultimate educational unit, the receptacle of knowledge. Knowledge does not reside in any group consciousness but in individual consciousness, and the supreme institutional expression of this is, of course, the examination. In the examination individuals are pitted against each other in a competitive race, even to the point that the expression of solidarity in the form of helping each other is denounced under the category of "cheating"; it is antithetical to the institution. This makes schooling an example of fragmentation of the underdog, although generally not so extreme as the fragmentation encountered during examinations.

Verticality and individualism together combine into patterns of *structural violence*[1] when we add to these two elements the way in which the whole school system is an exercise in penetration, the systematic formation of consciousness from above, and also in a marginalization whereby pupils and students remain the second-class citizens of the institution. The way schools are set up, generally speaking, will tend to make structural violence appear not as a structural disease but as the normal structure, the way society not only is, but even should be.

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[1] For a definition of this concept see the authors' *True worlds: a transnational perspective*, chapter 3.

That the school system also is isomorphic with the economic structure is fairly obvious; after all, it is designed within the same basic social framework, the same underlying ethos, to a large extent by the same people. *Essentially it is a system for the processing of raw children into processed children*, at three different levels: primary-school graduates that must be regarded as some type of semi-manufactured goods, secondary-school graduates that to a large extent serve as inputs for the tertiary level, out of which come the finished products, the tertiary graduates. Thus, society starts with unprocessed children, and ends up with more or less finished products at three levels—total processing requiring as much as twenty years. The similarity is obvious: raw material flows through the means of production, here called means of education—schools. The output of one institution serves as the input for the next, since they are coupled in series as in any other production process. The workers (here called teachers/professors) are more skilled the closer one comes to the tail-end of the process, and considerable capital is pumped into the total machinery. Schools, hence, become meeting-points for raw materials, labour and capital just like any other factory, and tend to concentrate in bigger cities the higher the level of processing—again, just like any other factory.

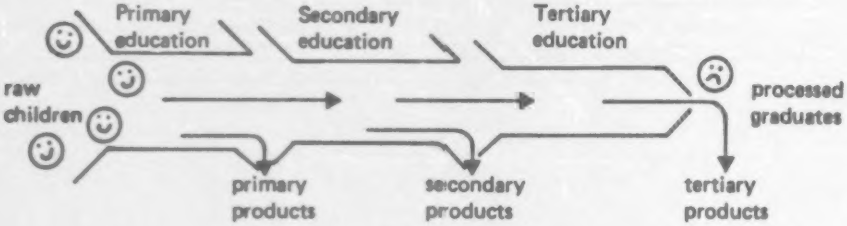

FIGURE 2.

Substitutability is served through standardization of the schooling process. Education is industrialized, it is mass production rather than individual attention, it is not artisanry. Like pupils should be treated alike. This is referred to as "justice": they should be comparable all over the country.

Now, if education production is as similar to economic production as we have tried to make them look in this paper, then there should also be similarities in their unapplauded consequences. More particularly, there should be something in education corresponding to such characteristics of economic cycles as ecological imbalance, exploitation and alienation.

To start with *alienation*: in most countries today the educational system would be one of the biggest institutions, comparable to the army, and to the biggest corporations combined, in terms of number of people involved. They cannot be compared in terms of assets since the theory and practice of economics are peculiarly poor when it comes to expressing, in monetary terms, the value of an educational investment. But the educational cycles running through ministries, professors/teachers and students/pupils are at least as extensive and alienating as economic production cycles passing through the headquarters of multinational corporations, their daughter companies and the lowest-paid workers out in the fields. A pupil or student in a school does not have more control over his own situation than a worker in a factory. This does not necessarily mean that there are others that have much more control. It may also mean that the processing cycles have become so involved, so extensive, that they master people rather than *vice versa*, including those at the top.

Under the general heading of *exploitation*, or uneven accumulation, attention is focused on a well-known problem in pedagogical theory: "vertical" versus "horizontal" learning. In general it is probably more enriching to prepare a class/lecture than to listen to the result of that preparation, provided the preparation does not become too repetitive. Potentially, teaching develops teachers/professors more than it develops pupils/students; the latter probably develop best in interaction with each other. Similarly decision-making develops the subjects more than the objects of decision-making. The system of education is replete with both types of verticality.

Finally, there is the problem of *ecological imbalance*—is there anything corresponding to this in the education production? Without pressing the analogy too far, we think there is: if "raw pupils" correspond to "raw materials" they can be seen as parts of nature. Through the processing that takes place in schools they are transformed, and much contemporary pedagogical critique centres exactly on the way in which they become decreasingly natural, and increasingly become artifacts adjusted to the system, rather than *vice versa*. There must be *some* limits to human plasticity; twenty consecutive years in primary, secondary and tertiary education *is* some kind of pollution of human nature.

And as we pollute we also deplete: there will be decreasingly many unpolluted human beings around with increasing educational growth, just as there will be less and less unpolluted nature around with increasing economic growth. In fact, the insistence in several socialist countries that students should break up their studies and work for some time on farms and in factories may be seen as a way of "recycling" human nature, not merely as a way of equalizing conditions between students, farmers and workers. On the other hand, as a resource human beings are renewable, new ones are born every day, every second; so there is always a chance to rethink, reformulate and reform the entire process.

2. Reinforcement. The ways in which this particular way of setting up education serves the general social order can now be discussed, and the first general heading to be used is *sorting*.

Schools serve verticality and individualism by sorting people into *levels* (as defined by level of schooling attained, and how well they did at the examination), and *line* (type of specialization). Imagine a big undifferentiated heap of children who are fed into the machinery at the same big intake and then moved forward into increasingly differentiated lines, with many branching processes, some of them forking upwards, some sidewards. The net result is outputs that are already verticalized in terms of so-called talent and individualized in terms of so-called interest. At the end of each pipe the products that emerge are mutually substitutable, they are equivalent to each other. If one should pass out another one could be put in its place.

The key words here are *talent* and *interest*—the words that serve as a basis of vertical and horizontal separation. The difficulty does not rest with the latter but with the former, and here the idea that people are born unequal in terms of talent in general, and intelligence in particular, serves as the underlying rationale for vertical sorting. The important thing about this rationale in this connection is not so much the three related ideas that intelligence is genetically transferred (or at least genetically conditioned), that it differs considerably from one person to another, and insignificantly throughout the person's life-span, as ideas about *when* talent in the form of intelligence manifests itself. Here it looks as if the physiological growth curve has consciously or unconsciously been taken as a model. The idea would be that to everybody there is a certain potential as to how tall or intelligent he/she is going to be and that potential is already built into the person as a programme at birth, or at the moment of conception. Ideally it should be possible to assess it at that moment, or at least prenatally; failing to do so one has to wait until the potential has unfolded itself, been actualized. Since people are known not to grow much more after the age of, say, 16 to 18 the implication seems to have been drawn that this also applies to intelligence—more or less regardless of how it is defined.

The underlying model has been something like the curve depicted in Figure 3:

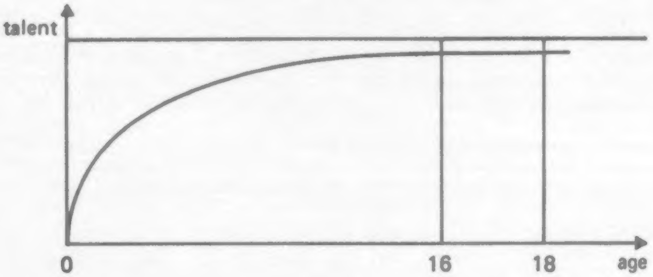

FIGURE 3.

Now, the point to which we want to draw the attention is that according to this type of thinking conclusive sorting can be done before the age of 18, but should not be done before the age of, say, 12—by that time the difference between actual and potential may still be of such magnitude as to render the sorting invalid. In other words, the idea serves as a rationale for sorting the young person as a teenager. Thus, schooling enters the entire *time-cosmology of society* more or less saying the following: if schooling is to serve the purpose of sorting then it is necessary and sufficient that it enters a person's life-cycle at such a time that the sorting can take place when the person is in his or her teens. And this means, in turn, that education is driven in as an increasingly expanding wedge between Childhood and Work as fundamental segments of the total life-cycle, as depicted in Figure 4:

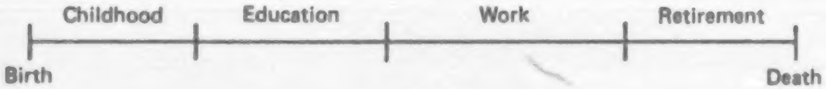

FIGURE 4.

However, there is no compelling reason to assume that the model of physiological growth can serve as a paradigm for talent growth; rather, it looks as if talent (or intelligence for that matter) expands by being used, and that the most important use is *challenge*. Hence, the reason why education has been given this particular position must be found in some other social function served by placing it at that interval: if it were placed earlier in life parents would be divested of much of their power of early influence; if it were placed later in life there would not be any age-differential to speak of between teachers and learners, hence less verticality and no continuation of ancient transition rituals over which the elders have command in the form of examinations. The argument that it is useful to have education first and then practise it in work may apply to some very essential tools traditionally taught in elementary school (the three Rs), but there is much reason to believe that training is best when work and education are permitted to go hand in hand, in a dialectic relationship. In other words, the counter-idea would not be to place "education" after "work", but to intersperse them after a short exposure to "education only".

As the system is, schooling delivers the goods to society, vertically graded and horizontally differentiated, with an underlying ideology and time cosmology. What happens then? What happens is a process of allocation, whereby the output of the schooling sorting process is fed into the productive machinery of society. By and large what happens is the following: primary-school graduates are put into the primary sector doing agriculture and extraction work; secondary-school graduates are put into the secondary sector as skilled workers, functionaries; and tertiary graduates are put into the tertiary sector as professionals and administrators. There are very many exceptions to the rule, but by and large we assume the semantic identity between levels of schooling and sectors of economy to be an expression of a high level of empirical correlation.

How can this happen? Simply because there is a basic underlying correspondence: as one proceeds from primary through secondary to tertiary levels of production what is being done is increasingly abstract, decreasingly related to pure, unprocessed Nature—and as one moves upward from primary via secondary to tertiary levels of *schooling* the content of what is being taught is also increasingly abstract. This correspondence, however, is meaningful only if both dimensions are correlated with power and prestige dimensions in society; and they are. More power and prestige are given to him who has more schooling in modern society; the old idea that mental work is somehow finer, better than manual work is reflected in the higher prestige accorded to the tertiary than to the secondary and primary sectors; *hence* the content of schooling has to be increasingly abstract as one moves upwards along the escalator. For if it were not, some of the knowledge needed for a tertiary-sector occupation would already be revealed to junior and senior high-school graduates, and if in addition tertiary schooling should mainly consist in training the body for manual work and skills the whole system would be completely upset.

The allocation is not only in terms of sector, but also in terms of level within sectors. The ranking inside the school system as a whole serves as a guide for allocation to sectors, the ranking within the class as a guide for level allocation. The experience at school can be seen as a training in getting used to structural violence, and particularly in getting used to underdog roles. Grading may be seen as a way in which those at the bottom learn to accept their proper station in life. And examinations may be seen as a way of getting used to the fundamental division they will encounter later on: between those higher up who formulate the problems, and those lower down whose task it is to tackle the problems, but according to preset rules. It is much more challenging to make a problem used for an examination than to solve it; just as it is much more challenging to solve the problems impinging on organizations (factories, firms, institutes, ministries) than to be those lower down whose task it is to implement the solution.

Within the class grading introduces a vertical ranking from high to low; but examinations introduce a sharp distinction between those who run the system and those who are run by it. Schooling is role training in either setting: hence, *schooling is among other things a process for the manufacturing of underdogs.*

3. Alternative education: an image

The goal of education goes far beyond education in the narrow sense of schooling: as emphasized above, it becomes a question of what kind of society one wants to reproduce in the institutions designed for educational purposes, and of what kind of society one wants to see reinforced. Imagine we want a society that is less vertical, less fragmented, less bent on processing people, less concerned with making people substitutable for each other. On purpose, we formulate the goal modestly, only in terms of "less" and "more"—one might also talk in terms of societal forms that are horizontal, based on solidarity, on autonomy and general participation.[1] But let us stick to the modest formulations and speculate about what kinds of changes in education might be conducive to that kind of society. In doing so we are obviously operating on two levels: how to negate the reproduction aspects and how to negate the reinforcement aspects of the current system.

We could now proceed item by item, starting with the reproduction of verticality inside schools, speculating on the type of changes that might bring about the negation wanted. However, there is never any simple type of one-to-one correspondence in social affairs. A change will have impacts on more "items" than one, some of the effects may be opposite to the direction intended, and so on. Hence, we shall prefer to present a list of changes as such, and try to speculate on their effects, particularly since these changes have a certain inner logic that also has to be respected. However, we shall nevertheless start with a fundamental change that has particular bearing on verticality, processing, substitutability and sorting.

The change suggested is not structural, it has to do with ideology, one might even say "social cosmology", since it has to do with the very way in which we conceive of human nature. In liberal society individuals have to be ranked in our mind in order to produce compatibility with the vertical structure in society; and structural and ideological changes in this field have to go hand in hand—it is not true that one of them can be carried out without the other or follows as an automatic consequence.[1]

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[1] These general value formulations are being explored further in the World Indicators Project, and efforts to operationalize them are under way.

1. A new ideology of human differentiation: taste rather than talent

A basically new educational ideology would be needed for almost any change to be mentioned to be meaningful. Could one imagine an ideology which would emphasize taste or interest much more than talent; and a society where tastes are more horizontal, and talent is considered less meaningful or secondary or ephemeral? Today *talent* is typically considered basic, to a large extent innate, even inherited; and *tastes* more secondary and highly ephemeral. Hence there is a question of viewing a person in such a way that talent is somehow downgraded and taste upgraded—would that be meaningful at all, or only artificial?

It cannot be denied that at any given point in time there are some people who do something better than others. However, when that observation is embedded in a context including

— the idea that when doing something else the ranking order may be turned around, and

— given more equal opportunities all ranking orders may become quite different

the ranking is supposed to mellow. This is about as far as contemporary liberal society has come in its critique of talent ranking: make it multidimensional and purify it through the condition of equal opportunity.[2] But the latter can actually be seen as taken from the methodology of experiments: in order to compare the strength of materials expose them to the same test under the same conditions (pressure, temperature, etc.). The net result is not less but more concerned with rank, and a higher level of validity in the sorting *under present social conditions,* leaving those who are sorted out without defences.

Instead of these two modifications of talent ideology one might think in terms of two other nuclei of crystallization for an ideology that could be more productive if equality and equity are the goals:

— the idea that potential talent is about the same in all, but that it has to be developed,

— that the key to the development of talent lies in its use, through challenge.

According to this position actual differences in talent would be seen as artifacts, produced by social conditions that distribute challenge and opportunity to use talent very unevenly—e.g. through patterns of fundamentally vertical division of labour. In an ideal society providing for maximum self-realization for all, talent would prove to be equally distributed according to this type of thinking.

But—imagine that the conditions of ideal society were approximated, that talent showed an over-all increase, but that that increased average were accompanied by increasing dispersion in talent, or at least not by a decrease! Of course, there would be the usual argument "when prophecy fails": that the expected and desired effect would come later, that the conditions are not yet quite satisfied, etc. What, one may with full justification ask, would there then be to fall back upon?

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[1] For ideological changes can easily remain intellectual exercises, and structural changes may become formal, lacking in content, if there is no corresponding ideological development.

[2] Particularly important in this connection is the work by Walter Feinberg, University of Illinois, on the Ideology of Educational Opportunity.

Not an argument in terms of empirical facts, but in terms of fundamental values. *One may simply declare that people are equal in talent, and see what changes this implies.* A good example is the Declaration of Human Rights, where people are precisely declared to be equal in human rights, a declaration that had profound impact on the social order, and still constitutes a basis for social change according to a fundamental value—the extension of voting rights being only one example.[1] Similarly, a corollary of the idea that all people are equal in talent would be equal salary to all, except on the basis of such external characteristics as seniority or position in life-cycle (since people probably need most money in early marriage, when starting a home, it may well be that the correlation should be negative with seniority—which it also partly is, retirement pay being usually lower than regular pay).

Thus, a new ideology can probably be founded on the basis of one hypothesis and one value assumption, or both—if one fails the other might still serve as a basis. It should be emphasized that they are both compatible with fundamental values of equality and *optimism* where human future is concerned.[2]

2. *Abolition of examinations; abolition of vertical sorting*

When something similar to schooling is made use of for people who are still defined as Children, or for people who have already entered Work or Retirement, examinations are usually not included in the programme—neither in the kindergartens, nor in the countless courses offered the adult population. Or rather: if they are included they are more for pedagogical than for sorting purposes. They serve as a point of concentration for teaching and learning activity—as a way in which the pupil/student can check his own progress and the teacher/professor his—rather than as a way in which the teacher/professor (on behalf of himself and the society in general) checks the pupil/student. This pedagogical use of examinations is hardly the subject of any attack except for one thing: it remains problematic how useful they actually are for the purpose of learning. It is the old problem of the means that become an end: to be clever at examinations becomes a goal in its own right, regardless of whether it furthers deeper learning or not.

The institution to be abolished would be examination for sorting, or more precisely: the graded exit diploma. An exit diploma in the form of a "certificate of attendance", accorded to all those who have attended, participated and done a reasonable amount of work generally agreed to as acceptable is not what we have in mind. In that case there would be only "pass" and "fail", it being understood that the diploma would be given to the majority of those who want it—for it would be hoped that educational institutions would attract people who simply are interested in being in it, regardless of any diploma that might come out of it.

Thus, the model would be more similar to the people's high schools found in Nordic countries than to, say, a military academy with a very finely meshed ranking system mirroring the extreme concern with rank found in military institutions of the conventional kind (as opposed to guerrilla organizations).[1] There might be a piece of work to be made towards the end, more similar to a seminar report as known in universities, and to be evaluated in terms of pass/fail by teachers and fellow students. But it would have to satisfy some very important requirements:

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[1] Of course, it is also an example of how one circumvents changes by making new informal structures (corporations, expertise) that may carry considerably more power than is accounted for by the commonly shared social myth.

[2] The ideology here described seems to be slowly emerging, and it would be interesting to have some large-scale research on the distribution of educational ideologies, cross-nationally and intra-nationally.

- the topic should at least partly be selected by the students themselves;
- the work should be performed partly individually, partly collectively, in full co-operation with others;
- the work should be done over a longer period, in full consultation with all books etc.;
- the work should be meaningful; a major task of the teacher/professor would be exactly to be helpful in finding meaningful tasks even the smallest schoolchildren could perform;
- the product should be criticized in a collective session, the students who produced it should be able to answer for themselves in that session without recourse to various forms of aid;
- after the criticism a revised version should be handed in and increased ability to take well-founded criticism into account would be one major goal of the whole educational exercise.

Thus, "cheating" would be meaningless, for mutual aid would already have been built into the entire educational venture. Ideally, those who leave the institution would know the challenge of a *problem*, would know something about how to find what they need to solve the problem, would also know something about personal responsibility and co-operation with others in that connection. In this there would be growth, and certainly not rote learning. The examination in individual seclusion, with candidates trained in giving correct responses to written or oral stimuli (and to guess these stimuli beforehand), would be out; in its place would come something much more similar to real life situations. The classical examination is only similar to one thing: *itself* (although it has some important similarities with court case procedures), and hence essentially a training in non-problems and fictitious situations.

It should be emphasized that the abolition of exit exams would make children/students/people more equal, as equal when they leave as when they enter school. It is quite clear, however, that the need and desire for sorting could then take the form of *entrance examinations* instead. This highly complex problem gives rise to two types of answers: that such exams are at least potentially more relevant, more geared to the particular needs of that organization or institution, *and* that further work towards more horizontality will have to take place within the organization itself. Schools should not be a part of social verticality in general but should, like friendship, love, family life, leisure activities, as much as possible be kept out of it. This is not only because of the agony of exams, but because of the way they transfigure pedagogical activity, because the gradient of forgetting after the exam is very steep, probably even steeper than the gradient of learning before it, and so on.[2]

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1. A study carried out in Norway under the leadership of Kai Piene on Systems of Grading revealed that the Military Academy was the organization with the most elaborate system.
2. It has been impossible for me to locate studies demonstrating this—which is in itself interesting, since it should be a major focus of research; although it might also have a devastating impact on many pedagogical myths. However, more intuitive analysis of the experiences of oneself and others seems to point in the direction indicated.

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To this it may be objected that all kinds of cram schools would emerge, as in Japan, training, even processing people for entrance examinations.[1] This is an evil because it tends to have the same distorting effect—but it should not serve as an excuse for keeping examinations and grading. Rather, it should serve as a good reason for exploring the conditions under which the sorting of applicants for a vacant job could take place after they had shown their worth on the job for some time, or by constantly re-designing work so that there is a better correspondence between demand for and supply of jobs. An example of the latter would be a return to more labour-intensive forms of production. But more fundamental than that approach would be the general idea of learning-on-the-job, and of shaping the farm/factory/firm/institute according to the skills and interests of those who work in it rather than *vice versa.*

3. Freedom of educational choice

It is a remarkable feature of the schooling system we know that in spite of the individualism of Western societies there is relatively little opportunity of individual choice. Or more correctly: there is considerable freedom at the kindergarten and pre-school levels, an unstructured activity with lots of initiatives left to the children themselves; and a pattern of considerable freedom at the college and university levels. It is at the levels of elementary, junior high and senior high schools that the processing model of schooling is most adequate: the curriculum is pre-prepared for the pupils rather than chosen by them. Not only is there little freedom of choice, but the individualism idea expresses itself as fragmentation rather than diversity. With standardized curricula and low level of latitude the difference between the students emerging from a schooling process would be in terms of *amount* of knowledge acquired rather than *kind*. *What* they have studied is usually very predictable.

Having said this, it is also clear that there are two empirical models available of alternative schooling processes: the kindergarten and the college/university; or rather those institutions at these levels where a high level of freedom exists. Would it be possible to combine the playfulness of a non-authoritarian kindergarten with the freedom of choice built into, for instance, an American college system and make it a viable basis for the school levels mentioned? We think so, and would like to make some indications in that direction.

The idea is very simple and very well known: let each school present a number of *units* or building blocks from which the pupils themselves can pick, constructing their own curriculum. These building blocks could be conceptually organized along a horizontal axis according to subjects: languages, mathematics, physical and natural sciences, social studies, humanities, various types of occasional skills, physical education and so on; and along a vertical axis according to level (elementary, intermediate, advanced). With m fields of study and n levels this would yield $m \cdot n$ units, and it would be the task of any central schooling authority to see to it that each school is in a position to offer all these units. As a matter of fact, it would probably be best if all three school levels were combined and so-called adult education was added to it—for reasons to be given below—keeping various age-groups together as much as possible. It goes without saying that more "academic" and more "vocational" subjects should be offered under the same roof.[1]

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[1] For a comment on the educational system in Japan see the author's "Social structure, education structure and life-long education: the case of Japan", in *Review of national policies for education: Japan* (Paris: OECD, 1971), pp. 131-152.

The pupil selects and constructs his own curriculum—but there could be some constraints on his or her options. Thus, there could be the idea that the choice had to satisfy a certain *rule of dispersion*, for instance that vocational units, or academic units, should not constitute less than one-third of the total choice. Thus, he who is heading for carpentry would add a sizeable amount of languages, social studies, physics and mathematics—and she who is headed for architecture would add carpentry and welding, together with practice in construction work. The basic point in this requirement, obviously, would be to contribute to bridge-building between mental and manual work, making both *job rotation* and *job reconstruction* possible as transition strategies towards more horizontal societies, because of flexibility.

Should there also be a requirement as to the *average level attained*, and the *number of units*? Traditional schooling ideology would have as a very fundamental concept the idea of *completing a schooling process*. In a college this might be when a certain number of credit points had been accumulated, combined with attaining the highest level in one field of study (the major). In addition to that there would usually also be a stipulation of number of years, or time units, regarded as necessary and sufficient for the completion of the process. Sometimes the emphasis might be only on the number of years considered necessary, regardless of how much knowledge has actually been acquired (or skills been imparted): this would be referred to as compulsory schooling.

The most radical suggestion in this connection would be to dispense with all three considerations and simply see a school as a resource available to the citizens as a birthright, something they may attend and, one hopes, enjoy according to their inclinations. They pick the units they want, subject to the rule of dispersion, and might even skip some of the elementary levels after a certain maturity of study has been attained, and with the help of a little, more or less guided, *self-study* combined with *discussion groups* with other students in the same situation. One might say that the birthright would entitle them to a certain number of units, even given to them in the form of a non-transferable set of coupons that they might make use of at any time during their life-span. This would actually mean that most people would be in the *process* of education, not classifiable as having completed this or that—and that would have some important implications on the sorting aspect of schooling. For even if examinations are abolished, as argued in the preceding point, people might still be ordered according to the school level attained, or the number of units completed for that matter. It would be very difficult to eliminate this factor completely, but a society where people at any time could add more to their educational record would make any classification less permanent than it easily becomes today.

Less radical formulas in this connection would be limited to some flexibility where the idea of "finishing school" is concerned. Instead of any rule to the effect that it should be completed, normally, after x years, one would stipulate an interval, for instance $x \pm 2$. This would permit pupils to have some of the same privilege as students have in many universities: to adjust the speed by which they are flowing through the system to their own individual needs and capacities without being stigmatized for that reason. Thus, a university student in a tolerant university system such as that found in Norway would not be stigmatized if he uses seven years rather than five, but if he exceeds ten years it is likely that he would be labelled accordingly (as a "semester-elephant", "eternal student", etc.).

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[1] In the current suggestion for reform in Norway this point "roof" is interpreted broadly to mean "within the same district".

Similarly, one could have relatively flexible rules when it comes to number of units: an interval rather than a point on the numerical scale. The important thing would be to keep the concept of "completion" vague, as in adult education institutions which people attend and leave, and nobody is very much concerned with how many courses the person completed. The focus is on the fact that the person did participate, and the field of study. And the same would apply to the idea of a "major": it could also be an interval, not the number 1; no major at all, two majors, three majors. . . . The person with no major at all might become one of the key persons in our confusing society, the famous "generalist"—and the same might apply to the person with four majors.

In the idea of freedom of choice there would be not only the element of freedom of composition, but also the freedom of time order. In other words, the units should be composed in such a way that there would be a minimum of constraints on the time sequence, of the type "in order to take course B3 one has to complete A1, B2, C1 and D1". One might leave this to the pupils to decide; maybe they would discover short cuts, new combinations, the need for self-study, and the important discovery that freedom of choice is the freedom to make fundamental mistakes, including the freedom to learn from these mistakes.

When pupils compose their own individual curricula it is obvious, from a purely administrative point of view, that there will be holes in the agenda. The conventional model of schooling as something that takes place every weekday from 8.30 a.m. to 3 p.m. (or something like that) can only be maintained under the condition of standardized processing. But there are few things one should be less afraid of than these holes, since they can be used for self-study, discussion groups among pupils (and a basic condition would be that all schools would have facilities for such purposes), not to mention out-of-school activities, such as work. That this should be combined with more theoretical study is obvious, and the society that has come furthest along such lines today is, no doubt, the People's Republic of China.[1] In other words, what we are arguing is a much more flexible attitude with regard to time: instead of the highly concentrated, densely packed educational experience we would argue in favour of a dilution of this along the time dimension, with plenty of holes every day, week, month, year.

One way of adding to this flexibility would be for pupils to move more from one school to another. Although all schools should offer the same minimum set of units (so as not to disadvantage pupils in more peripheral parts of the country) schools should also be encouraged to add according to local facilities. Schools should be similar enough to permit transfer of pupils as well as teachers, yet dissimilar enough to make this transfer a new educational experience.

Thus, it is felt that changes in this direction would play up individual taste and diversity, to a non-alienated educational experience, and play down any possibility of a lasting sorting of people through the systematic use of schooling processes for that purpose. But there are deeper aspects of such changes to be elaborated below.

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[1] For some impressions see the chapter on Education in Johan Galtung and Fumiko Nishimura: *Learning from the Chinese*, Oslo, 1974.

4. Deschooling through deprofessionalization of teaching

Ivan Illich has launched a slogan of "deschooling", pointing to the ritualistic aspect of the schooling experience and the discriminatory use made of diplomas. We would like to carry the idea a little bit further, partly by pointing out a concrete process through which deschooling could take place, partly by transforming Illich's point from a brilliant attack on present schooling to a more positive vision of alternative systems.

Just as examinations have no parallels in real society and are similar only to themselves, schools also exist in some type of social vacuum, being dissimilar from the rest of society except in fundamental structure—as indicated in the second section. Above we have argued in favour of the part-time pupil/student; so why not argue also in favour of the part-time teacher/professor? This would be a person who is only partly engaged in teaching and in addition to that holds some other position in society, drawing from that experience in the activity as an educator.

Complementary to that notion would be the idea of society in general as a joint educational experience. Imagine a farm/factory/firm/institute—to mention the names of organizations in the various sectors of economic activity—visited by pupils/students wanting to supplement Education with Work. For this to be meaningful a condition would be that those who work there on a more regular basis would be not only willing but also able to add a pedagogical dimension to their daily life. They would have to engage in some reflection on how their knowledge, insight and skills can be transferred to others, including not only the technical aspects of their job but also the whole culture that goes with it, the subtle web of ideas and relations spun around any type of work. In other words: *teachers should no longer have any monopoly on teaching, that should be a shared concern evenly distributed in society at large.* No doubt this may be counter-productive from the point of view of some narrowly conceived norms of efficiency, but highly effective as a means of social integration.

The most important way of deprofessionalizing the teacher, however, would be to make the learner a teacher through the combined operation of self-study and discussion groups. And this is where the structure of eating rather than the structure of education comes in as a helpful metaphor: eating typically takes place in a multiplicity of forms, from the autonomy of the person who helps him or herself, via the horizontality of a family or group preparing a meal together, to the verticality of a restaurant where one picks among prepared courses and the authoritarian structure of the canteen offering only one meal for all. To introduce this variety to everybody would imply such architectural changes in our under-used homes as studies in addition to kitchens, with shelves as something built into new apartments like cupboards, and so on.[1] And it would also point in the direction of the *educational cafeteria and restaurant* where people would simply enter, singly or in groups, sit down by their table (which might even be a *Stammtisch* to which they would come day after day, week after week), ordering educational material from the local "teacher" whose task it would be to provide them with appetizing educational "courses" from the kitchen storage (is the double meaning of that word incidental?).

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[1] In a sense this argument also applies to hotels, where the rooms are typically made for sleeping, love-making and personal hygiene—very rarely for study. This may reflect the values of the business and upper-class clients probably by far dominating the customers, and not the values of people in increasingly educationally oriented societies. Hence, a rather safe prediction would be that changes are going to take place in hotel architecture as well.

And in a sense, that would be more of a *re*professionalization than *de*professionalization of the teacher: the teacher as a person who facilitates a discussion rather than as the sender of a message to be received by the pupils, as the cause of an effect that takes place inside them.[1] Of course, there would always be room for classical teaching, particularly of knowledge and skills that are the answers to problems for which there seem to be only one solution—e.g., how to conjugate German verbs. But there is little doubt that a completely new pedagogical role is in the process of formation, and that it can only be embedded in a new educational structure if it is to be meaningful—as pointed out by Danilo Dolci[2] and Paulo Freire.[3] It may be that the best course is to design the course—pupils and teachers together—like the chef who prefers cooking to eating.

5. A more flexible time cosmology

We mentioned in the third section that much of the current education structure is based on the assumption that Education is an interval between Childhood and Work, and that one of the rationales for this particular time-order is the suggested analogy between physiological growth and talent manifestation. Education has to come late enough to serve the purpose of valid sorting, yet early enough to be a preparation for work. This preparation is not only in terms of knowledge acquired and skills imparted, but also in terms of structures to be internalized.

Above we have mentioned the idea of interspersing Education and Work, which would only mean to carry further what has already taken place in many societies with the institution of adult education or re-education. However, in Figure 4 there are also two other phases of the life-cycle: Childhood and Retirement. How can they be combined with Education?

We would define Childhood as some type of irresponsible playfulness, as simple Being, and Retirement as the same but with a much higher element of responsibility. Retirement must be distinguished from senility, which would be rather similar to Childhood, making the line in Figure 4 into a circle, an idea which may also be said to be indicated by the term "life-cycle".

There are two ways of answering the question just asked: to bring Education into Childhood and Retirement, and to bring elements of what is typical of Childhood and Retirement into Education. Let us look at both.

The first would bring us in the direction of life-long education, starting in early childhood and never ending—stretching way into retirement.[4] But there is a difference between what has been developed here and the standard concept of permanent

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1. I am indebted to Professor Arne Næss for this particular formulation.
2. For a statement about the programme of the new school in Partinico, see Danilo Dolci, "The maieutic approach: the plan of a new educational center at Partinico", *Prospect*, 1973, pp. 137-146.
3. In his rightly famous book *Pedagogy of the oppressed.*
4. For a further elaboration of this perspective see the author's *Structural pluralism . . .*, op. cit., particularly pp. 288-292.

education: education should be seen not as permanent, but rather as intermittent, something that comes in phases and intervals—*and these phases and intervals are not contiguous, continuous.* One of the most dramatic forms of structural violence built into the present educational system must be the consecutive institutionalization of children and adolescents, for periods as long as 12, 16 years, marginalizing them by taking them out of general social circulation, isolating them in schools/universities.

But the idea of filling the gaps in an education schedule with work, indicated above, is insufficient and by far too puritan. Why not also reappearing intervals of Childhood, of playful activity, completely non-instrumental forms of beings? And, more problematically, how could one build this into the educational experience itself—something that would be very different from highly non-humorous, profoundly critical, discussion groups about such topics as "the social implications of teaching arithmetic rather than graph theory in elementary mathematics courses". (The implication might be that arithmetic gives good training as a producer and consumer in a capitalist society whereas knowledge of graph theory might serve as an excellent tool in understanding social structures better).[1] Probably the answer to this lies precisely in spreading education throughout the life-cycle in such a way that it no longer becomes a preparation for a subsequent phase in life, nor some type of alternative way of living, but simply one aspect of social life in general.

But what about Retirement? There is one good model of anticipatory retirement: the sabbatical year enjoyed by university professors. This form of existence seems to function like the recharging of batteries, but if this is the case any member of society should be entitled to the same. School teachers should have the same right, and so should school pupils: the right to be taken out of school, with no stigma attached, and engage in some form of highly creative, self-realizing, joyful work, in other words in *praxis*.[2]

Thus, the general argument would be in favour of as much mixture of these four types of social existence as possible, all the time making the structure sufficiently flexible to leave the fundamental decision-making, when it comes to not only composing education but one's entire life-style, life-cycle, to the person himself and herself. And if that were really practised the age-composition of a group of people studying together, using dialogue as a major vehicle for development, would be as diverse as the people sitting in a cafeteria: all ages, both sexes, people from all walks of life. It is in that setting that the teacher would be more of a helper and facilitator and less of a boss—and schooling less of a process for manufacturing underdogs, and more of a setting for co-operation and autonomy.

6. *Conclusion: some strategies*

These are far-reaching changes, and they would all work against a society that is vertical and highly individualized, and be particularly resisted by those on the top of that society: those in charge of production (private and state capitalism) and in charge of administration (the bureaucracy). Those at the top might pick some of the elements in this package, but not enough to threaten the basic structure of verticality and substitutability.

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[1] The present author has for some years been trying to develop a textbook in mathematics, based on graph theory and other mathematical schools, that might make mathematics more meaningful for socially conscious pupils, and even stimulate that social consciousness. Particularly valuable in this regard is the important work by the French mathematician/architect Yona Friedman.

[2] I am indebted to Professor Mihailo Markovic for this particular way of interpreting the term "praxis".

Hence, it is our contention that momentum for more fundamental change will have to be taken from the periphery rather than from the centre of society; there is too much vested interest at the centre (not meaning necessarily a Minister of Education, but the high seat of private and state capitalism and administration). More particularly, there are two types of periphery that should be highly meaningful in this connection: the school districts in general and the more central districts in particular, and school pupils in general and the high-school pupils in particular.

School districts may ask for more autonomy, for decentralized decision-making. However, if the peripheral school districts are heavily subsidized from the Centre of society they are unlikely to revolt. Also, new ideas about education are more likely to emerge close to the Centre than in the Periphery; so we would assume that the central districts would be among the first to put action behind the general demand for decentralization.

One model in this connection would be to leave most of the educational planning to the districts, and to several school systems within one district. They might then apply for support, and the state budget of education might be turned into a council dispersing funds upon application, more like a University Grants Commission. As with individual scholars applying for research grants, the initiative would come from below; the grant-giving agency would operate within a wide band of ideas as to what constitutes a legitimate school system, and disperse funds accordingly. The assumption, then, would be that there is more latent diversity that can be released when districts are given more autonomy than can be built into the system by any kind of design devised from the top.

School pupils can rebel, but most likely to do so are those in the higher grades. The free university model that we have been drawing upon above applies most immediately to them (or at least so people seem to think), and can be communicated to them not only through direct knowledge of the next step on the educational ladder, the university, but also through elder siblings, further ahead on the educational track.

The most significant step high-school students could take would probably be a strike against examinations. In many countries such examinations are ceremoniously prepared with standardized problems (or rather, fictitious non-problems) prepared by the Ministry and circulated confidentially well ahead of time. The organized absence from sorting ceremonies of that type would shake the educational establishment considerably and stamp out vertical sorting of pupils/students as illegitimate, even immoral. No doubt the motivation for such action would vary over time and it is quite possible that it is lower today than it was at the end of the 1960s—for instance, because liberal society proved itself quite capable of absorbing much of the impact of the student revolt of those days. But such ups and downs are normal in any movement, and it is almost inconceivable that pupils, even students, will continue acquiescing in humiliating examinations for ever and ever.

In conclusion let it only be said that the types of persons who would emerge from educational processes of the kind depicted above are considerably less likely to tolerate the verticality and irrationality of contemporary "modern" societies. They would demand a different job structure, more compatible with the structure built into the education system. And at this point it should be remembered that even with the time-flexibility extolled above many people would spend a considerable portion of their total life-span in some type of education, which means that the educational structure would make an indelible imprint on them and constitute a model, even a paradigm of what the social structure should be like. For that reason changes in education structure might have both a direct and an indirect effect: directly by forcing other sectors of society to be compatible, and indirectly through the internalization in the members of society as basic patterns of social life. To take an example: jobs have to be built much more around individuals with their peculiarities when education is made in such a way that individuals are less substitutable for each other (so that individuals could more easily be fitted into pre-defined jobs). At the same time, persons used to composing their own educational experience instead of being processed according to schemes made by others will demand something similar of the job structure in society and in doing so they would already have taken a great step towards a higher level of autonomy.

Finally, one little note on the future-studies aspect of this essay. Looking at these "strategies", how do they fit into future studies? No doubt in many countries today, certainly in most, the two factors pointed to are both weak and vague. So, does this not simply mean that one picks out the trends, tendencies or factors one likes and elevates them into a prominent position, referring to the result as "futurology"? No, for "future studies" as here conceived have little or nothing to do with predictive futurology. Rather, the assumption is that social futures cannot be predicted because it is in our capacity to transcend any social "law". The purpose of such studies is to try to locate the forces that could be unleashed, the waves on which to ride, and then to use future studies consciously and conscientiously as a tool in the service of certain values. And these values have, it is hoped, been made quite explicit in the essay.

Comments

Ravindra H. Dave, IIEP

This paper contains a large number of thought-provoking ideas as well as reform proposals concerning the process of schooling and future society. The brief comments given here touch upon only a few of these ideas and suggestions.

In the initial part of the essay, the author has constructed a parable under the enticing title of "the Ministry of Eating"! He has done this to make his criticism against Ministries of Education more piercing. Whether or not the parable is fitting, it does make delightful reading. What is more, the quotation from "The New State Cookshops" and the basic flow-chart describing primary, secondary and tertiary eating, which ends with nothing less than *filet mignon* and *filet de sole*, add spices to the sumptuous *food for thought* contained in the paper.

In the latter part of the paper, the author has presented a utopia in proposing reconstruction of the current schooling system. Shall we summarily dismiss it since it is utopian? Or, perhaps, we should take a more dispassionate view of it, for, as Henry Janne observes in his work on sociological perspectives of lifelong education, "Today's reality was yesterday's utopia. Condorcet's famous report envisaging compulsory education was a utopia at the time, yet it has become a reality. Who but minds inspired by revolution would have believed at the end of the 18th century that it could come true?".

Only the future will tell whether the Galtung vision will be a reality or not. However, it does merit a critical examination at this stage, especially in the context of educational planning.

The author's major starting point is acceptable. The future of education in general and that of schools in particular cannot be understood in isolation; it has to be conceived in a social context. In the light of this, he has identified two characteristics of the social structure and two of the economic structure of the industrialized, western societies to develop his critique of contemporary schooling.

The first social characteristic discussed by the author is *verticality*, which means vertical division of labour. Verticality is inextricably associated with exploitation of those at the bottom and is therefore undesirable. The second social characteristic is called *individualism*, which detaches individuals from each other, even pitting them against each other in relentless competition for mobility. This is because *processing*, which is the third characteristic and which belongs to the economic structure, serves to move production factors to places of accumulation and thus creates steep centre-periphery gradients within and between nations. The fourth and final characteristic is designated as *substitutability*, which tends to standardize people and make them spare parts in a productive machinery. These socio-economic characteristics have their counterparts in the schooling system. For example, pupils are ranked in terms of ability, classes are graded within a stage of education, and stages are ranked as primary, secondary and tertiary within the entire system. Thus *verticality* exists in a very pronounced form in the schooling system, probably next to the military sector of society and a few others. Similarly, *individualism* is encouraged through examinations, where individuals are pitted against each other in a competitive race, even to the point that expressions of solidarity in the form of helping each other are denounced under the category of "cheating".

It has been stressed that as in society, so in school these characteristics have produced undesirable consequences such as alienation, exploitation and pollution of human nature.

After making a critical diagnosis of the ailments in the contemporary schooling system in the context of the present social setting, the author proposes a number of remedies. In doing so, he hinges his hopes on schools for achieving social transformation. In particular, he depends on school districts and high-school pupils for bringing about fundamental change in education, and, through education, in the society. However, the history of social transformation tends to indicate that this expectation does not seem to be sufficiently realistic. Schools may be used by different societies in producing different degrees of social change. But in any society schools can at best become only one of the many factors in bringing about social transformation. Furthermore, in order that schools can contribute adequately in the process of social transformation, it is essential to bring about corresponding changes in several other sectors of the society *concurrently* with the changes introduced in the school system.

For example, the author proposes the abolition of examinations in order to abolish vertical sorting. He accepts the values of certain types of evaluation procedures but suggests the abolition of the certificate-oriented examinations which are often described as public examinations in the Anglo-Saxon societies. Now, it is difficult to accept the author's contention that abolition of such examinations by an educational system will abolish or even tend to loosen verticality from the social system. This is for two main reasons, among many. First, there are numerous examples to show that when public examinations are dropped, many other testing procedures emerge to render a similar function which are often less reliable and more cumbersome for the students. This is not to defend public examinations at all, but to assert that this change would hardly eliminate verticality because other procedures of vertical sorting will emerge in the society. This takes us to the second reason. It may be appreciated that the certificate-oriented examinations are more for the larger social purposes such as selection, elimination, promotion, etc. than for educational ones. Educational institutions do use these certificates for certain limited purposes; but the social institutions are really the major consumers of these certificates. The public examinations have great social value, social implications and social utility. Thus, the public examinations are not the cause of verticality but the consequence of it, their root being in the social need and pressure for vertical sorting. Hence, without creating an alternative structure in the society at least concurrently, mere abolition of public examinations is not likely to produce any substantial impact on social transformation in the intended direction. Further, it may be stressed that there is no dearth of innovative procedures and techniques in the field of educational evaluation which are more conducive to the proposed *horizontality*. Criterion-referenced testing, participatory evaluation, auto-evaluation techniques, and a host of other procedures do exist, but they have not succeeded in eradicating certificate-oriented examinations because the corresponding societal prerequisites have not so far been met on a large scale.

Whether the image of alternative education developed by the author is capable of generating a wholesale social transformation or not, there are indeed a number of reform proposals contained in the paper which merit careful consideration in order to identify new tasks for educational planning. It has been clearly stated that "schooling in future society" will not take the form of a simple extrapolation from the present, for instance, in terms of number of pupils, number of teachers and number of schools. The author has directly or indirectly pointed to a variety of new educational principles and criteria emphasizing, for example, that

(i) the meaning and goals of education should go far beyond the narrow concept of schooling, keeping in view the reproduction and reinforcement potentials of education;
(ii) there should be flexibility in respect of institutional arrangement for education, and greater autonomy to districts and institutions in educational planning;
(iii) there should be freedom and flexibility in curriculum content, learning styles, time of learning in one's life-span, and intra- or cross-age grouping of learners;
(iv) teaching should not be the monopoly of professional teachers only but should be shared by other members of the society;
(v) education should take into account the taste and interest of the learner rather than over-emphasizing his talent as at present; and
(vi) education and work should be interspersed.

These are by no means easy tasks. They break the linearity and smoothness of planning and administration of the present education systems. Are we ready to respond to some of these challenges and undertake research, reflection and development activities in the field of educational planning in the years ahead?

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The book

After some twenty years of being looked upon with general favour throughout the world, educational planning is now passing through a period of doubt. Some of the assumptions on which earlier models and approaches in educational planning were predicated have turned out to be over-simplistic, limited, or altogether not appropriate for the complex nature of the development process in many developed and, especially, underdeveloped societies.

Recognizing these problems, the IIEP decided to bring together a number of distinguished researchers, policy-makers and planners from all parts of the world for a week of reflection and discussions on the past, present and future of educational planning. This volume is a synthesis of the main results of this international forum, and it attempts to delineate the main tasks for educational planning in the coming years.

The editor

Hans N. Weiler (Federal Republic of Germany) was Director of the International Institute for Educational Planning from 1974 to 1977. He is currently Professor of Education and Political Science at Stanford University, U.S.A., and Chairman of Stanford International Development Committee (SIDEC).

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